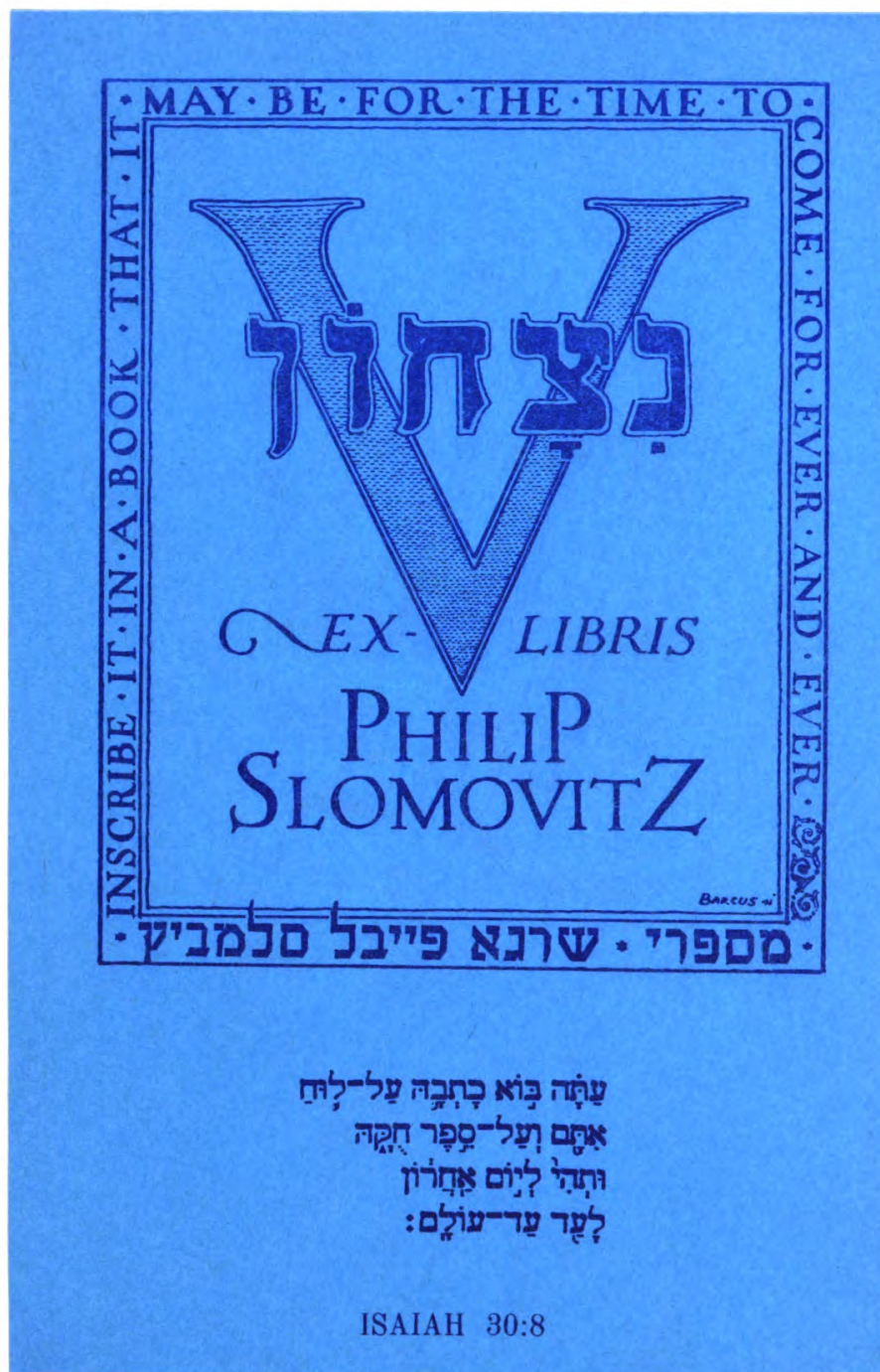


JEWS
IN THE
POST-WAR
WORLD



*He will swallow up death in victory; and the Lord God
will wipe away tears from all faces; and the rebuke of
His people shall he take away from off all the earth; for
the Lord hath spoken it.*

—ISAIAH 25:8

JEW S

IN THE

POST-WAR WORLD

BY MAX GOTTSCHALK

*Director, Research Institute on Peace and Post-
War Problems, American Jewish Committee*

AND ABRAHAM G. DUKER

Author, "Jewish Survival in the World Today"

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FOREWORD

BY LEVERETT SALTONSTALL

United States Senator from Massachusetts

Too much stress can never be placed on the importance of mutual respect in all social, as well as individual, relationships. The average citizen, whether he be worker or employer, whether or not he himself belong to a racial or religious minority, I am convinced, wants fair treatment for all. We have done much in fostering this better understanding of each other, but there remains much more to do. I am in favor of the widest possible discussion of the issues facing the world, abroad and at home, because I believe the fundamental good sense of the American people will side, in the end, with what is right and fair. We need all the understanding we can get.

Because the fate of the Jewish people has been intertwined with that of world civilization, a book on Jewish post-war problems is bound to be of wide interest and significance. For the future good of the world we should learn its lesson well.

Only a really united and understanding America will be worthy of our courageous soldiers and sailors when they return from the battlefronts of the world. Only such an America can play its full part in the maintenance of peace and security throughout the earth.

As the late Justice Louis D. Brandeis has said, "The United States is a nation of nations." As such it must set an example to the rest of the world. It has done so in the past, and I believe it will continue to do even more so in the future.

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INTRODUCTION

IN HIS introduction to *An Intelligent American's Guide to the Peace*, prepared under his general editorship, Former Under Secretary of State Sumner Welles makes the following explanatory remark: "This book has been published in the belief that it will facilitate the endeavor of the average citizen to obtain at this critical moment some of the basic factual information which he will require in order to understand the major problems which this country now faces. This information is presented in no partisan manner. It is wholly objective." This quotation, with appropriate substitutions, might well serve to characterize the present volume on the subject of the Jewish communities in the post-war world.

Every effort has been made to present the objective materials which the average reader must have at his disposal if he is to understand the problems, the aspirations, and the requirements of the Jews in the world of tomorrow. No attempt has been made to argue in favor of any particular program, or plan, or blueprint. This volume represents an effort to set forth the background against which the problems can be realistically understood and to provide some of the ideological materials for their solution.

The events of the past decade of world history have involved the Jewish people to an unprecedented degree and in an unprecedented manner. Intelligence and understanding are necessary as they have never been necessary before, for the problems confronting the Jews involve the post-war adjustments of most of the major nations of the world.

Ten years ago hundreds and thousands of Jewish communities existed in Europe. Today, a vast proportion of them have been

destroyed, for wherever Hitlerism conquered, they were wiped out and their members were deported or murdered. It is generally estimated that some 4,000,000 Jews have been exterminated in the course of the present war. The world population of the Jews, considered to have been 16,717,000 in 1938, has thus been reduced by nearly one-fourth. This constitutes a far greater percentage of loss than has been sustained by any other people in modern times. Polish Jewry has been reduced by nine-tenths, French Jewry by one-half, Belgian Jewry by three-fourths, Greek Jewry by five-sixths. According to the most hopeful of reasonable predictions, there will be some 2,000,000 Jews in Europe (outside the Soviet Union)—or one-third as many as lived there in the period before the Nazi plague.

One cannot investigate Jewish problems since World War I without touching upon the general questions of peace and civilized social order. A close examination of the tangled history of the "Long Armistice" between 1918 and 1939 clearly indicates that anti-Semitism was almost invariably employed by the German fascists as a political stratagem. By utilizing anti-Semitism, they managed to channelize the legitimate resentments of the people away from the proper targets. They succeeded in creating turmoil and in discrediting democracy. Anti-Semitism in the hands of the German fascists proved effective in exacerbating nationalist feelings and thus in making the attitudes of the people receptive to war. Anti-Semitism served the fascists admirably in their campaign to sow dissension among national communities and thus to render them an easy prey to German arms.

Hence, the Jews have not been the only sufferers of the effects of anti-Semitism and Nazi race doctrines. Although Jews have been the chief immediate victims, all the peoples of the world have been injured by the blight of wars that became possible once the Nazis had been permitted to implement their stratagems of hate. Conceivably, a deeper understanding of the causes and techniques of international turmoil might have saved the world its present era of pain. An earnest attempt to understand the bases of the coming peace is the very least that an intelligent citizen must make at the present juncture in civilized history. And such an attempt must take into account the special situation of the Jewish communities throughout the western world.

Our inquiry begins with a comparison of the two world wars, in

an effort to forecast the position of the Jews at the close of the present conflict. The origins of the two wars, the line-up of the hostile camps then and now, and the rôle played by anti-Semitism are analyzed. We undertake to describe the potential communal resources of Jews in the free countries. In brief form we discuss the emergency needs of the Jewish populations in the interim between the cessation of armed conflict and the peace settlement.

Chapter II tells how the Jewish communities prepared for peace during World War I. Our discussion covers the story of the Jewish demands presented before the Paris Peace Conference as well as the historical background of the Balfour Declaration, the Palestine Mandate, and the Minorities Treaties.

Europe from 1919–1939 constitutes the material of Chapter III, with particular emphasis upon the political status of Jews and the social trends on the continent during the “Long Armistice.”

Chapter IV undertakes to clarify the position of the Jews in the post-war world. Beginning with an analysis of possible alternatives, we turn to various proposals for a new international order, such as the world, continental, regional, and ideological federalist solutions, with particular attention to the position of Jews under these respective systems. The problems of protection for Jews and other minorities receive extensive treatment, in view of their importance in a stable world order. As inseparable from these matters, we summarize the group status of Jews in western countries, in the U.S.S.R. and in East-European centers.

Palestine forms the subject of Chapter V. From a discussion of the place and significance of the Holy Land in Jewish tradition, we turn to a brief analysis of the Zionist movement and then to a description of Jewish achievements in Palestine during the last twenty years. The policy of Britain in regard to her Mandate and the points of difference among Zionists, non-Zionists, and anti-Zionists are treated at length, together with the whole question of the Arabs. Because Palestine is of interest to various powers and religious groups, we take into account the Middle East as a region requiring satisfactory readjustment. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the proposed solutions of the “Palestine question.”

Economic reconstruction and migration is the subject of Chapter VI. Proposed outlets for Jewish resettlement, together with the concrete problems of finance, vocational training, and the like, are analyzed here. We devote some attention to the work of the Jewish

and the international organizations in the field of relief, emigration, and colonization.

Our final chapter is concerned with Jewish survival in the democracy of tomorrow and to the contributions that can be made to world democracy by the solution of the problems of the Jewish people.

This book has been released to the printer in February, 1945, and all facts and figures accord with data available at that date. Naturally, in a work of this kind, the author must "stop somewhere," or he will be forced to make changes with every new victory in the war. The date of February, 1945, however, would seem to be a useful one, marking, as it does, a definite stage in the success of Allied arms.

JEWS IN THE POST-WAR WORLD

THE TWO WORLD WARS— A COMPARISON AND CONTRAST

O God of my praise, keep not silence;
For the mouth of the wicked and the mouth of deceit
have they opened against me;
They have spoken unto me with a lying tongue.
They compassed me about also with words of hatred,
And fought against me without a cause.

—Psalm CIX, 1-3.

WHAT will be the situation of the Jews at the close of the present war? No one, of course, knows when and how the war will end; and no one, in the midst of this most destructive of all wars, can possibly allow for all the imponderables. There are, however, certain aspects of the present conflict, especially in relation to the Jews, which may be discerned even now if we compare its course with that of the First World War. Pertinent parallels and contrasts between the Jewish situation then and now may help to shed light on Jewish problems as they will arise at the end of the present war.

BETWEEN TWO WARS—1919-1939

What shall we say was the cause of the present war? And what was the cause of the last war? The immediate cause of World War I was of course the assassination of the Hapsburg Crown Prince of Austria-Hungary; but there were other causes, far more complex and involved in their scope. These were, in the main, industrial and commercial rivalries; an indoctrinated militarism and an aggressive nationalism, particularly though by no means only among the Germans; advance promises of mutual military assistance; and psycho-

logical factors such as the ambitions of semi-autocratic rulers and their war-minded cabinets.

The present war, as we all know, had its immediate origin in Germany's invasion of Poland on September 1, 1939, which brought England and France to the latter's defense, in accordance with their treaty commitments. The background causes of the conflict are again much more complex. Unfortunately, the Versailles Treaty and its related treaties failed to abate the world-wide competitive struggle for wealth and power, and to reduce perceptibly the heightened nationalistic tensions. The democracies failed to translate adequately their war slogans into peace-time action, and to create strong instruments capable of enforcing the peace.

Following, in summary form, are the major factors that contributed towards the present war: disunity among the Allies immediately after the last war; failure to provide the newly established League of Nations with powers of enforcement; isolation of the United States from world affairs as demonstrated by its refusal to join the League of Nations; failure to achieve international economic collaboration; pouring of capital and credits into German industry and armaments when Germany had already become reactionary; fear of a world revolution emanating from Moscow; open hostility of the Communist International (Comintern) until 1935; policy of "appeasement" practiced by the democracies towards fascist aggression, best exemplified by their failure to act against Nazi Germany's "master race" propaganda and successive grabs of territory; and failure of the democracies to establish collective security with the Soviet Union against fascist aggression. These were the outstanding background factors leading up to the Second World War.

A major difference between the present struggle and World War I lies in the diametrically opposed sets of ideas that motivate the two warring camps today. At the start of the First World War, the same economic system of private enterprise existed in all the belligerent countries. None of them was at first motivated by any conscious desire to change the social or political system. True, President Wilson's Fourteen Points later introduced a note of idealism into the camp of the Allies, especially because of the hope that they held out for the liberation of oppressed nationalities and the principle of self-determination. Nevertheless, both sides were fighting essentially for possessions and influence, and not for a new social world order.

In the present war, however, there are three different groups of

countries, two of which are aligned in self-defense against the third,—the aggressor. Communist Russia, ruled by a dictatorship, is allied with the democracies, fighting together against Fascism and the fascist way of life as represented by the Axis-partners—Germany and Japan. Now, democracy, as we know it, and communist dictatorship signify different economic and political systems; but they at least share in common certain basic values and attitudes. Though many freedoms as we know them have been denied or curtailed in the Soviet Union, the fact remains that Soviet Russia has been striving in its own way to raise the level of education and security of all the peoples dwelling within its borders. Communism, at least in theory, accepts human equality as a basic principle of society. The Soviet Union is the one country in the world where anti-Semitism and all racial discrimination have been officially outlawed. Moreover, the Communists, unlike the Nazis, do not accept dictatorship as the ideal form of government; they consider it a transitional stage leading to democratic Socialism. The collaboration among the three powers, Great Britain, Russia and the United States, culminating in the Moscow and Teheran Declarations, and given added substance by the Dumbarton Oaks proposal for world organization, demonstrates that the forces uniting these powers and other members of the United Nations are stronger than those dividing them.

Fascism, on the other hand, is a complete repudiation of the democratic way of life and of the very assumptions of equality of rights for individuals or groups. Fascism, trampling on the ideals of human freedom, equality, and brotherhood, preaches the doctrine of racial superiority. Germany and Japan each claim to be the “master race” destined to conquer and subjugate the rest of the world. (Their mutual alliance in this war is merely a temporary marriage of convenience). Fascism glorifies war as an end in itself and declares brutality and ruthlessness to be the distinguishing marks of the *Herrenvolk* or “master race,” when dealing with the other so-called “inferior races.” Moreover, a “master race” need have no conscience. Lying propaganda, Hitler wrote in his book, *Mein Kampf*, is a legitimate device, provided it serves Nazi ends, and the bigger the lie, the more readily it is believed. Nothing under Nazism is right or wrong, save as it serves the Nazi drive for power. In the name of the self-styled master race, Hitler robbed first his own people, then the peoples of Europe. At first Hitler claimed that he wanted only to avenge the wrongs of the Versailles Treaty, and to have all territory populated

by Germans restored to Germany. Moreover, he was going to save the world from the "Communist menace" and from "Jewish domination," the twin weapons in his arsenal of propaganda. He made one treaty after another and gave one promise after another, only to flout each of them with contemptuous scorn when it served his purpose to do so. Not only did he violate his non-aggression pacts with neighboring countries; but after each of his acts of aggression he brazenly lied to the world, declaring that his newly annexed stretch of land was his "last territorial demand" in Europe. The democracies, unfortunately, acquiesced in Hitler's repeated aggressions, even as they had failed to take action against his barbarous treatment of the Jews. Hitler's voracious appetite increased with each easy victory, until armed resistance to his continued conquests became inevitable.

When he finally succeeded in plunging Europe into war, Hitler, of course, blamed the Jews for the war, as he had incriminated them for so much else in the past. Following the Nazi-Soviet Pact of August, 1939, Hitler ceased to attack Communist Russia and Communism, and concentrated instead on denouncing what he termed the Anglo-Saxon democratic "plutocracies." But when, in June, 1941, in violation of his non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union, he invaded that country, he announced to the world that he was taking steps against the "plot devised by the Jewish Anglo-Saxon warmongers and the Jewish rulers of the Bolshevik center in Moscow."

It should be noted that the present war is equally the end-product of the mentality, preparation, and will for conquest, of a majority of the Nazi-indoctrinated German people. In this respect it differs radically from the First World War, which had been largely precipitated by the Austro-Hungarian Emperor and the German Kaiser and their court circles. An index of the new German mentality can be observed in the ruthless behavior of the invading Nazi hordes as compared with the relatively civilized conduct of the German armies in 1914-18. The German soldiers of today are conscious followers of, and zealous warriors for, Hitler's concept of German world domination. They display the same blind fanaticism and crusading spirit that the Japanese exhibit in the service of their own deified Emperor and his war-lords.

To Jews, however, the war is far more than a struggle between slavery and freedom; for the defeat of the United Nations would literally mean the destruction of Jews everywhere. The suggestion

of the Nazi philosopher, Alfred Rosenberg, that a "Jewish reservation" be established by the Nazis at Madagascar (or some other inhospitable and forbidding place), should be considered in the light of past Nazi profession and performance—as another piece of deception calculated to impress the simple and naive. One should not be misled by this ironical flaunting of "concentration camp humane-ness." The fact is that, should the Nazis win the war, other peoples would be allowed to live, albeit as slaves; but Jews would be exterminated. This has been the boast and promise of the Nazis from the very beginning of their career, and to date this policy has been methodically pursued. Wherever Nazism has penetrated, through military conquest or "strategy of terror," Jews have been cold-bloodedly murdered *en masse*.

The situation is markedly different from that which prevailed during the First World War. Anti-Jewish prejudice existed, to a greater or less degree, in virtually all countries engaged in the conflict, but anti-Semitism, or anti-Jewish prejudice in action, did not exist in the U. S. A., Great Britain, France, Italy, and Belgium, or in neutral Holland, Switzerland, and the Scandinavian countries. In Germany and Austria-Hungary, anti-Jewish prejudice was exploited as an instrument of reactionary political propaganda, and though potentially a great force, it was not official government policy. Except for the legal proscriptions that had already existed against the Jews in Tsarist Russia and Rumania before 1914, there were no special laws of discrimination directed against the Jews elsewhere in Europe. Before and during the First World War, anti-Jewish prejudice and its overt expression, anti-Semitism, were held in disrepute in the New World and in the whole of Europe except for Russia and Rumania. Moreover, the brutal persecution of the Jews by the Tsarist government caused considerable embarrassment to the Allies, and prevented a great many liberals from endorsing or giving wholehearted support to the war. In fact, the March, 1917, Revolution that put an end to Tsarism in Russia, granting as it did equality to all, was a tremendous moral asset to the Allied Powers, who were then able to unite on liberal war aims epitomized in President Wilson's slogan that the war was being fought "to make the world safe for democracy."

During the past decade, however, the world has been treated to the unseemly spectacle of a powerful government deliberately singling out for extinction a defenseless minority—the Jews—as the

alleged arch-enemy of the German Reich and of mankind in general. The democratic governments took few and ineffective steps against the instigators and perpetrators of this barbarous policy, as well as against the spread of anti-Semitic and fascist propaganda in their own countries. They looked upon Nazi persecution of the Jews in Germany as a purely internal affair of the German nation. They did not see clearly that anti-Semitism was being deliberately exploited by the Nazis, not merely as an instrument of power at home, but also as a weapon of political penetration and disruption abroad. Neither did they fully understand that anti-Semitism, if unchecked, would go beyond the destruction of its Jewish victims, and lead to the destruction of democracy itself.

The abandonment of the German Jews to their own fate by the democratic governments and the Soviet Union did not serve to divert Hitler or to dull his appetite for further power. By their failure to protest against the cruel policy of Hitler, they helped create a popular illusion that he was all-powerful. This policy of appeasement at any cost contributed to the weakening of the stamina and power of resistance of his potential enemies and victims.

Hitler pursued a deliberate course in making anti-Semitism the spearhead of his political structure and ambition, for it served him both as a means and a goal. As a means, it was useful in fomenting division, discontent, and dissension among the people in Germany as well as abroad, thereby enabling him to appear as an all-powerful savior. Through the preaching of anti-Semitism he was able to win over, first the dregs of German society, and later the impoverished lower middle-classes and nationalist-minded elements. Around this mass base, he was able to consolidate his power. Anti-Semitism was also useful in supplying a nation, smarting under the defeat of the last war, with a convenient scapegoat upon which to vent its wrath. Moreover, anti-Semitism as employed by the Nazis—who labelled every thing, person, or group they marked for destruction as “Jewish,” “Jewish-influenced,” or “Jewish-dominated”—helped to inculcate in the broad masses the doctrine of German racial superiority over all other races and nations. Although anti-Semitism appeared superficially to be aimed at Jews alone, it was in reality also directed against the freedom of non-Jews. The persecution and torture of a helpless minority by the Nazis gave evidence to the German people of their “racial superiority.” This, in turn, served to brutalize and train them for the ruthless treatment of other races and peoples.

Anti-Semitism provided a convenient and profitable device for satisfying the greed of Nazi Party adherents and camp-followers, by robbing the Jews of their property and livelihood. By insisting that foreign firms doing business with Germany be *judenrein* (free of Jews), the Nazis tightened their economic stranglehold, especially upon neighboring countries that depended so largely on trade with Germany. Such economic penetration then served as an entering wedge for fascist and anti-Semitic propaganda abroad; and the Nazi Party, which controlled foreign trade, was thus able to convert it into an effective instrument of German foreign policy. By indicating to native quislings that the economic expropriation of the Jews could be made a lucrative source of wealth and power, the Nazis helped create fifth-column movements everywhere, with anti-Semitism as their chief stock-in-trade.

The Nazis fomented anti-Semitism not merely as a means of capturing power in one country after another, but also as an end in itself. Hitler has time and again sworn to exterminate the Jews. With his deep-seated psychopathic hatred, which extends far beyond the Jewish people, he aims to destroy not only the Jews but also Judaism; in fact, any idea or movement influenced by Jewish religious or ethical values, above all—Christianity. In his book *Mein Kampf*, Hitler correctly senses that both Judaism and its daughter religion, Christianity, are diametrically opposed to Nazism. Whereas Nazism glorifies and practices war, dictatorship, and the doctrine of racial superiority, both Judaism and Christianity extol the ideals of peace, democracy, human equality, brotherhood, and freedom. Hitler is therefore committed not only to the extermination of the Jews, but also to the eradication of every trace of the ethical and religious values associated with Judaism, Christianity, and the Bible.

While Jews were the first to be singled out by Hitler for persecution and annihilation, events have convinced even skeptics that anti-Semitism, as a weapon of Fascism, has served as a pretext for the destruction of the very fabric of Western civilization itself.

STATUS OF JEWS IN THE TWO WORLD WARS

One of the startling differences between the present World War and the last one is found in the changed international attitude toward Jews. In the First World War, Jewish soldiers were in the armies of all the warring nations, and in spite of the anti-Semitism

that prevailed in some countries, the belligerents of both sides went out of their way to court Jewish goodwill in behalf of their war efforts. Even in Russia, where anti-Semitism had reached the stage of open pillage and pogroms, the Tsar thought it expedient at the outset of hostilities to address a courteous appeal to the Jews, promising them equality in the future.

In the opposite camp, the Central Powers, through the German and Austro-Hungarian high commands, issued a manifesto when they invaded Russian Poland, addressed to "My Beloved Jews!" stressing the point that the war was being waged "not against the population, but against the Russian tyranny." "We come to you as friends and saviors!" the appeal read, reminding the Jews of their suffering under "the iron yoke of Russia" and promising them real justice and freedom in the event of a German victory.

It is more commonly known how the British government gained much Jewish goodwill by issuing in the midst of the war, with President Wilson's blessing, the famous Balfour Declaration that promised the Jews a national home in Palestine.

Today, on the other hand, no one is making a special bid for Jewish support. No such bid is needed, for Jewish identification with the forces of democracy is obvious, natural, and complete. Nevertheless, the world's indifference to the plight of the Jews under Nazism remains appalling. This indifference probably stems from callousness developed through constant exposure to the unending persecution of Jews, and the witnessing of their helplessness in the face of Nazi attacks against them.

An examination of the military zones of operation in the two World Wars and their impact upon the lives and destiny of the Jews, also reveals striking parallels and contrasts. During the First World War, major military operations were confined to two fronts, one in France and Belgium—known as the Western Front—and the other in the territories of Tsarist Russia (including Lithuania, White Russia, Russian Poland, Austrian Galicia, and Rumania)—known as the Eastern Front. In addition to these two major fronts, there were also the secondary fronts of Italy, the Dardanelles, and Greece, as well as the front in Palestine, where British forces were arrayed against Turkey, which was then allied with the Central Powers.

The Western Front did not affect the Jews as Jews, because those who dwelt in that area did not suffer any special discrimination and

were treated like all other citizens by the armies of the opposing camps.

The situation was quite different on the Eastern Front. There, in an area known as the Pale of Settlement, were concentrated the largest Jewish communities in the world. The Pale of Settlement, composed of parts of Russia, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, White Russia, and the Ukraine, had been designated by the Russian Tsars as the restricted place of settlement for Jews. From the beginning of the war, this region was a battleground for the contending armies.

But the Jews in the Pale of Settlement had more to fear from the armies of their own country, Russia, than from the invading German forces. The anti-Semitism that had long prevailed in Russia, especially among the clergy, government officials, and army officers, became intensified and more widespread because of the acute war hysteria. There were frequent false accusations by anti-Semitic Russians and Poles that the Jews were spying on behalf of the Germans and Austrians. These accusations resulted in the execution of scores of innocent people. Many other Jews became victims of pogroms in which the Cossacks took a leading part. After a half year of war, in March, 1915, the Tsarist Government initiated the policy of evacuating Jews from the war region into the interior of Russia. To carry out this policy, it was forced to abolish the Pale of Settlement, thus uprooting about 600,000 Jews. Before most of them could leave their homes, however, their deportation was prevented by the German occupation of their territory. About a third (210,000) remained in the interior of Russia. Only the rapid invasion by the German armies of the densely populated Jewish areas prevented the complete expulsion of all Jews from their homes.

A comparable situation prevailed in Austrian Eastern Galicia; twice subject to attack and once occupied by the Russian army, this country too, dealt harshly with the Jews. As a result, a large part of the Jewish population eagerly sought refuge in the interior of Austria-Hungary, especially in Vienna, where many of them became dependent on charity. In Rumania, too, which was on the Allied side, Jews suffered at the hands of the Rumanian administration; and in Bessarabia, at the hands of the invading Russian army.

The comparatively small Jewish community in Palestine also felt the ravages of war. Nearly half of its 100,000 Jews were Russian nationals and were therefore classified by Turkey as enemy aliens. Besides, many of the Jews in Palestine were dependent on the con-

tributions of relatives in other lands, who were no longer able to help them. Starvation was rampant and only as a result of American aid were these Jews able to survive. The Turkish government, using the war as a pretext, attempted to liquidate Jewish colonization efforts in Palestine which, together with the whole Arabian Peninsula, was then under the sway of Turkey. Not until General Allenby's triumphant entry into Jerusalem in December, 1917, and the subsequent British occupation of the country, was peace and a measure of security brought to the Jewish communities in the Holy Land.

How have the Jews fared in the military zones of the present World War? The first battlefield in 1939 was Poland, and the sizeable Jewish population there (about 3,300,000) was among the worst sufferers during the brief but harrowing military campaign. When the Soviet Union occupied eastern Poland, more than a million Jews in that area temporarily escaped the Nazis, as did the Jews of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Bessarabia, and Bukovina—only to fall again under Nazi domination after Germany invaded Soviet Russia on June 22, 1941.

Conquered Poland, the Baltic states, Soviet White Russia, and the Ukraine—the greatest areas of Jewish concentration in Europe—became a vast death-chamber for about five million Jews. Socially and legally outcast, despoiled of all their possessions, they were decimated by the combined horrors of mass executions, slave labor, crowded ghetto existence, starvation, and disease. In most of the countries under Nazi control, Jews were compelled to wear conspicuously a yellow badge. The democratic world was justly shocked when Lidice, an unoffending little community of 824 souls in Czechoslovakia, was wiped out by the Nazis. The policy of pitiless extermination pursued with savage delight by the Nazis against the Jews, is the story of Lidice multiplied a thousandfold.

Jews on the Western Front, too, were brought under the jurisdiction of the Nazis when the latter conquered Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg, France, and Denmark—countries in which Jews had enjoyed the fruits of emancipation for more than a century. The situation of the Jews in these countries constantly deteriorated as thousands were deported to the ghettos of Poland and the occupied Soviet regions. The Jews of Denmark, numbering 8,000—including 2,000 refugees—who had been relatively unmolested, were subjected to mass expulsion by the Nazis in September, 1943. Despite all Nazi attempts to prevent their escape, 6,000 Jews made their way

to a hospitable Sweden through the efforts of the non-Jewish population of both Denmark and Sweden. Discriminatory measures also awaited the Jews in the Balkans when Hitler hurled his armed might against Yugoslavia and Greece. His satellites in the Balkan states—Slovakia, Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria—followed the example of their Nazi overlord. Slovakia proudly announced that she was *Judenrein* (free of Jews). Rumania applied Hitler's methods with Nazi fury, while in Hungary, where native Jews and Jewish refugees from Poland and Czechoslovakia had been relatively secure, occupation of the country by the Germans in March, 1944, exposed approximately a million Jews to possible extermination. Nor must we forget that many of the Jews who were constantly being deported to the ghettos of Poland from Germany and the occupied countries in Western Europe were shot en route—"shot while trying to escape."

The present war, global in character, has its Far Eastern Front as well. The Jewish communities of Manchuria, Burma, and the Dutch East Indies, as well as of occupied China, particularly Shanghai with its more than 20,000 Jewish refugees from Europe, face a bleak future under the rule of the Japanese militarists.

The only bright spot for the Jews on the many war fronts is Palestine with its sturdy Jewish population of 535,000 souls. Jewish Palestine, free from the menace of Nazi invasion, is today an outpost of democracy in the Near East and a great military reservoir for the United Nations in both men and materiel.

In spite of all the sufferings endured by Jews during the First World War, their spirit was unbroken, their social and economic position remained basically intact, and their communal life continued to function even in the war regions. From the very beginning, the war-ridden Jews of Russia organized extensive activities for refugees and war victims. In addition, liberal-minded Russians rendered much moral and political aid. The local non-Jewish population, too, was of considerable help in the places of exile. At first, only the Jewish communities in Germany and Austria-Hungary supplied the relief needs of the Jews in the occupied German and Austrian regions. Soon they were assisted with funds forthcoming from the American Jewish relief agencies through the Joint Distribution Committee. Large sums of money were also raised in Latin America, Canada, South Africa, Britain, and France. Even after the United States' entry into the war in 1917, distribution of funds for the relief

of Jews in enemy-occupied lands was continued through neutral diplomatic channels, with the aid and approval of the U. S. Government.

And in the very midst of the war, the Jews were able in most places to carry on their communal and cultural activities. When the war front shifted from a particular locality, Jewish schools and communal activities resumed operation. Moreover, the Jews in the war zones were not cut off from the rest of the world. News of President Wilson's Fourteen Points and of the Balfour Declaration, with their promise of a new life for Jews in Europe and in a restored Palestine, reached even those Jewish communities under German occupation. When hostilities were officially ended, Jewish communities, regardless of the suffering they had endured, were in many countries sufficiently well organized and conscious of their rights to be able to form representations for Jewish demands at the Peace Conference.

The problems of economic and cultural reconstruction were many and complex. In the newly established Soviet Union there was need for a radical readjustment to a completely changed social order. In other countries, there was a return, with some minor changes, to the pre-war status, and Jews were able to share in the tasks of economic reconstruction.

In the present war, almost two-thirds of the entire Jewish population of the world are in the lowest depths of the direst catastrophe that has befallen them in history. With the exception of the small Jewish communities in Sweden, Switzerland, and Turkey, the Jews on the European continent were trapped. Jewish communities were ruled by Nazi commissars. The so-called "autonomy" granted the ghetto communities was merely a convenient Nazi device for hastening their extermination. Jewish institutions of learning were closed, and health facilities became increasingly scarce. The capacity of Jews for self-help was limited and continually weakened by Nazi legislation. There were no means for Jewish inter-communication in Nazi Europe; and even the local Christian population was forcibly prevented from rendering aid to Jews. Economic resources in the ghettos were almost non-existent. The number of Jewish suicides mounted; the death rate was inordinately high and the birth rate constantly falling. At the end of the present war, there will be a staggering decline in the number of Jews left in Nazi-occupied Europe. Readjusting the surviving Jews to a normal life, within the broader framework of rehabilitating the majority populations—in

a changing society depleted of resources—will be a task of a magnitude unequalled in history.

Immediately upon the cessation of hostilities, two types of needs will become manifest, as was the case in the last war. The first will be the need to establish order, feed the starving people and check epidemics; the second will be the need to begin reconstruction, at least until a planning authority under the supervision of the United Nations is able to take over.

Checking epidemics, feeding the hungry, maintaining order and suppressing internal anti-democratic and anti-Semitic outbreaks, will be the obvious tasks of the victorious United Nations. But what about relief work and emigration possibilities as they will affect Jews? Will Jews be able to handle these problems by themselves or must they become a part of the Allied post-war reconstruction program?

We must bear in mind that most of the surviving Jews in Europe will, at the close of the war be almost completely bereft of belongings and of resources for self-help. The only Jews in the world who will be able to extend substantial aid to them will be those of America and the British Empire. Unlike the situation at the end of the First World War, the Jews of Western Europe, with the exception of England, Sweden, and Switzerland, will not be in a position to help, since they themselves have been expropriated by the Nazis, while the Jews herded together in the ghettos of Poland are starkly and totally destitute.

The sheer magnitude of the task ahead—to rehabilitate a people left homeless and deprived of every means of self-support, many of them victims of starvation and brutal enslavement—will tax all the available Jewish resources. In fact, it will require more than the resources of the Jews of America and Great Britain to save and rehabilitate the Jews of Europe. Nothing less than the concerted aid of all the United Nations will be able to solve the tremendous problems of relief and reconstruction for the Jews, as for all other uprooted and destitute peoples. That the United Nations do not intend to make any last-minute improvisations following the cessation of hostilities, as occurred during the last war, is shown by the establishment of the UNRRA (United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration), entrusted with the task of aiding the countries liberated from Nazi occupation. It is now that the basic foundations for durable world peace are being laid, and with it the

conditions for the restoration of Jewish life in a democratic world order. Thus, the steps taken by the United Nations *now* will determine, to a large extent, the political status of the Jews in Europe, the possibilities for overseas emigration, and the status of the Jewish National Home in Palestine.*

The end of the First World War witnessed widespread outbreaks of pogroms and anti-Semitic agitation. The Armistice of November 11, 1918, failed to bring peace to the Jews of Eastern and Central Europe. In Russia, the struggle between the Bolsheviks and the White Guards meant for the Jews a bloodier repetition of the horrors suffered during the war. The White Guards, supported by the intervening Allied governments opposed to Bolshevism, and the Ukrainian nationalists fighting for the independence of their country, deliberately and falsely identified Jews with Communism, thus paving the way for a wave of pogroms against the Jews in the Ukraine and in some parts of White Russia. Estimates of the number of Jews murdered at that time range from 35,000 to 150,000. Anti-Jewish excesses and riots occurred in Poland as well. And in Hungary, the reaction against the establishment of a short-lived Soviet regime in 1919, headed by Bela Kun, a Jew, led to the massacre of hundreds of Jews by Hungarian White Guards during the period of "White Terror."

In defeated Germany, the reactionary elements invented the legend that Germany lost the war because of a Jewish "stab-in-the-back," a legend Hitler exploited to the full during his rise to power. In the other Western countries, even in America, the economic dislocation and suffering occasioned by the war provided fertile soil for anti-Jewish agitation. Moreover, the Russian nobility and propertied classes, dispossessed by the Bolshevik revolution, spread the false charge in the Western countries that the revolution was a Jewish plot. During this immediate post-war period, the monumental forgery known as the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion," purporting to show how the Jews had conspired to dominate the world, was widely accepted even among many enlightened elements of society.

In view of the bloody trail of pogroms and anti-Semitic agitation after the last war, and particularly in view of the propaganda systematically spread against the Jews by the Nazis before and during the present war, special precautions will have to be taken by the victor powers to prevent a recurrence of similar explosions. In June,

* These subjects are dealt with in greater detail in later chapters.

1944, President Roosevelt said: "As the hour of the final defeat of the Hitlerite forces draws closer, the fury of their insane desire to wipe out the Jewish race in Europe continues undiminished." Aware of this eventuality, President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill, and Premier Stalin previously issued a joint warning regarding the atrocities committed in occupied countries, to deter the potential plotters of pogroms.

In the Americas and in the British Empire, too, measures must be taken in advance to counteract the probable attempt on the part of "submerged" Fascists and such other elements as may be dissatisfied with the outcome of the war, to seek power through a renewal and intensification of anti-Semitic agitation. The relatively large number of anti-Semitic incidents that have occurred in several cities in the United States in the past year underlines the need for organized efforts by Jewish organizations to combat racial prejudice immediately, before it becomes a grave menace in the post-war period.

HOW THE JEWISH COMMUNITIES PREPARED FOR PEACE DURING WORLD WAR I

Behold, how good and how pleasant it is
For brethren to dwell together in unity!
—Psalm CXXXIII, 1.

THOSE who are vitally concerned with a just solution of Jewish post-war problems and with the need of presenting an authentic bill of particulars to the conferees at the Peace Table can learn much from the history of the preparations made by the Jews for the Peace Conference that followed the First World War.

What were the war and peace aims of the various belligerent nations during the First World War? How did the peoples of the various countries view the problems of the subsequent peace? What preparations for peace were made by the world's statesmen and thinkers? What machinery had been established by the victorious Allies for the peace negotiations? What developments, if any, during the period between the Armistice of November 11, 1918, and the final peace settlement of 1919 greatly influenced the framers of the Peace? In addition to these general questions, there are other specific questions that require an answer.

How were the Jews organized during the first two decades of the present century? What were their communal resources? Were there any major differences of point of view among them? If so, how were these resolved and how did the various factions manage to establish a united delegation to the Peace Conference? Did the prevailing world climate of public opinion help or hinder the delegates in the fulfillment of their aspirations? Were there any decisive political factors that made it possible for the demands of the Jewish delega-

tion to be acted upon favorably? Finally, what can we today learn from the experience of the then existing Jewish communities that sent delegations to the Peace Conference?

WAR AND PEACE AIMS OF THE ALLIES: 1914-1918

In 1914 most people did not believe that a European war would break out, and even those who did, hardly expected it to develop into a protracted world conflict. As the war continued, many persons in the belligerent countries and in neutral lands formulated a variety of peace plans with the avowed objective of putting a stop to the appalling mass slaughter and of preventing future wars. There was considerable public discussion of these plans. An index of the popular desire for peace was the sensational interest aroused by "The Peace Ship," which Henry Ford organized and launched in 1916, but which ended in a fiasco.

The Allied governments, however, paid little attention at first to the problem of planning for a permanent peace. Their own plans were contained in a number of secret treaties, confined mainly to agreements touching upon territorial and colonial questions. Even the Commissions of Investigation that had been secretly established by many of the Allied governments were concerned mainly with the successful prosecution of the war and with protecting the interests of their respective governments after the war.

Nevertheless, the Allied powers were compelled during the First World War to take an open stand on the knotty subject of the oppressed nationalities in the Central European and Turkish Empires, such as the Czechs, Yugoslavs, Armenians, and others. The Allies promised freedom to these nationalities. But many nationalities were also held in subjection by Russia, one of the Allied powers. And so Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey encouraged these oppressed groups—the Poles, Lithuanians, Ukrainians, Georgians, and others—to strive for independence. The fact that the democracies were allies of the Tsar militated against the uncritical acceptance of Allied war aims by the neutral countries. Only after the March, 1917, Revolution in Russia and the overthrow of Tsarism did the professed democratic aims of the Allies become acceptable to the neutrals; and if any doubts still lingered as to the Allies' good faith, they were completely dissipated when the United States entered the war. For President Woodrow Wilson had declared that the

war was being fought "to make the world safe for democracy," and in his Fourteen Points setting forth the aims of the war, he advocated the self-determination of peoples. The Allied cause thus became identified in the popular mind with the cause of democracy and of national self-determination. The oppressed peoples in Europe sincerely believed that a new democratic era would open up for all peoples after victory by the Allies.

Wilson's Fourteen Points received at least as much popular attention then as has the Atlantic Charter in our own time. But serious thinking on post-war problems was confined almost exclusively to political questions. Little attention was paid to the economic and social factors involved in establishing a secure social order, or to the techniques for bringing it about.

Jews of the various communities throughout the world were among the first to plan for the solution of post-war problems. In the four years of the war they made strenuous and, as we shall see, successful efforts to unite in presenting their demands at the ensuing peace conference.

THE JEWISH SITUATION ON THE EVE OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR

In 1914, over six million Jews—almost half the Jewish population of the world—lived within the restricted area of Tsarist Russia, the Pale of Settlement. These Jews not only suffered rank discrimination; they were also victims of a whole series of pogroms instigated by the Tsarist government.

In nineteenth century Russia, the period of Enlightenment and westernization known as the *Haskalah* did not lead to the modification or abandonment of traditional religious beliefs and practices, as was the case in Western Europe. Far from being estranged from Jewish life, Jews in Russia intensified their interest in it. Russian Jewry as a whole was the storehouse of three modes of Jewish cultural expression—the traditional Orthodox, the modern Hebraic, and the labor-orientated Yiddishist type.

In Rumania, where the government emulated Tsarist Russia in adopting oppressive measures, there were over 250,000 Jews. In the rest of Europe, however, Jews enjoyed legal equality.

About 2,500,000 Jews resided in what was then Austria-Hungary. The Galician and Carpatho-Ukrainian Jews in that land, about 1,000,000 in number, resembled culturally their Polish co-religion-

ists across the Russian border. After the First World War, these Jews demanded recognition as a national group, and the Zionist movement helped to popularize this aspiration. The Jews in the Hungarian part of Austria-Hungary were ardent Magyar patriots. The Austrian as well as many Czech Jews, however, had already been assimilated into German culture, and apostasy and intermarriage were rife among them. In Germany, where there were more than 500,000 Jews, an overwhelming majority was almost completely identified with German culture.

In the western European countries, too, the Jews were almost completely identified with the culture of their native lands, their specific Jewish interests finding expression primarily in religious and philanthropic fields. Except in the instance of the more recent immigrants, this was true for England, with almost 300,000 Jews; France, with over 100,000 Jews; Holland, with over 100,000 Jews; Belgium, with about 20,000 Jews; and Italy, with nearly 50,000 Jews. In these countries, the rising movement of Zionism found expression in the longing for a cultural revival and a desire to assist persecuted Jews in Eastern Europe, rather than in the demand for their governments' recognition of Jews as a national minority.

Among the Jews of Eastern and Central Europe, however, there was a popular demand for national cultural rights. The sentiment for this demand did not result entirely from a deep reverence for Jewish tradition or from an existence dogged by persecution. Eastern and Central Europe was then, as now, a patchwork of many minority nationalities, submerged by dominant national groups and each yearning for independence. Poles, Finns, Lithuanians, Latvians, Slovaks, Czechs, and others were engaged in constant struggle against being overwhelmed and assimilated by the Russians, Germans, or Hungarians. When so-called westernized "enlightened" Jews in these countries sought identification with the population of the ruling culture in whose midst they dwelt, they incurred the resentment of the native minorities. The Czechs, for instance, resented that Jews in Prague identified themselves nationally and culturally as Germans. The Slovaks objected that the Jewish urban population gave a Magyar character to Slovak cities. The Ukrainians in Galicia were incensed against some Jews who identified themselves as Poles. The Poles in Russia objected to Jews becoming Russified.

In most instances, the ruling class of the numerically dominant group insisted that Jews subordinate themselves to the dominant cul-

ture. The Magyars, for instance, insisted that Jews in Slovakia identify themselves with Magyar (Hungarian) and not Slovakian culture. The Poles in Galicia forced the Jews there to classify themselves nationally as Poles. Under these circumstances, Jews who already considered themselves members of a Jewish nationality, one of the many nationalities in the region in which they dwelt, became fully conscious of their own group existence and even more determined to perpetuate their own national cultural traditions. Many Jews in the western countries, however, did not fully understand what motivated these "nationalist" aspirations on the part of their co-religionists in Central and Eastern Europe; nor did they sympathize with the attempt of the Zionist and other nationalist movements to translate these aspirations into modern political terms.

When the war broke out in 1914, the governments of the belligerent nations realized that they would have to come to terms with their national minorities or else risk the danger of a revolutionary upsurge; for the war served to revive the many submerged nationalities in Europe and stimulated their suppressed hopes for national independence. Accordingly, the Russian Tsar promised autonomy to the Poles and other minorities that were then part of Russia. The Germans, for their own ends, made similar promises and even set up a limited Polish autonomous government in the Polish regions they occupied. The Austrian rulers, too, began to think seriously of transforming Austria-Hungary, where the Slavic groups were dominated by the Magyars and German Austrians, into a federation of three units—German, Magyar, and Slavic. After President Wilson enunciated his Fourteen Points, agitation for independence among the submerged nationalities grew even more intense.

Jewish hopes, too, rose with the war. The Russian Jews felt that their country's alliance with democratic France and England justified the hope that after the war they would enjoy democracy and equality. In spite of the persecutions suffered at the hands of the Tsar, they fought valiantly for Russia. The Jews of Germany, as good patriotic citizens, not only contributed more than their share of fighting men to the German army, but also conducted propaganda for their country among the Polish and Russian Jews in the territory under German occupation. The Jews of France, England, and the other Allied countries similarly did their utmost to advance the war effort of their respective fatherlands.

In the neutral countries, however, feeling about the war was

radically different, particularly until the Tsar was overthrown. For liberals and Jews, Russia's record of persecutions and pogroms could not be expunged overnight. Even Germany's mistreatment of little Belgium did not offset Russia's unsavory reputation. Moreover, events during the war proved to the Jews and liberals in countries like Holland and Switzerland that the arrival of the German troops in Russian territory brought peace to the Jews, while the stay of the Russian soldiers or their occupation of any region brought heightened misery to the Jewish population. It was greatly feared that a Russian victory would mean the abolition of the fruits of emancipation for Jews in parts of Germany and Austria-Hungary, as well as a wider spread of anti-Semitism.

In the United States the Jewish community and liberal public opinion reacted at first in a similar way. The majority of the Jews in America had come from Eastern Europe, where their relatives were suffering cruelly at the hands of the Russian armies. While the Tsar was still on the throne, they too feared the results of a Russian victory. The leaders of the American Jewish community, who were predominantly of German origin, shared this view but, in addition, they had confidence in Germany's fair treatment of their co-religionists. The Jewish labor groups, then predominantly socialistic, refused to view the war as a struggle for democracy so long as the western democracies were allied with the hated Tsarist autocracy.

This alliance, in fact, was the cause of a great deal of embarrassment to the Allied governments. Anxious to gain the good-will and support of the populations and governments of the neutral countries and especially of the United States, they had to make repeated overtures to the liberal elements in these countries to offset the bad impression that the mistreatment of the Jews by their Tsarist ally had created. Besides, Allied leaders felt that Jews in neutral countries, being well-represented among the urban middle classes, were not without influence, and that therefore their support for the Allied cause should be cultivated. This feeling was strengthened by a report of an Allied mission to the United States in 1916, which suggested that the furthering of Zionist aims would be a major means of obtaining the good-will of Jews as well as of liberals in the neutral countries. This mission therefore considered it politically wise to enter into negotiations with the Zionists.

THE COMMUNAL SET-UP IN THE U. S. A. IN 1914

In 1914 there were slightly less than three million Jews in the United States. They were, for the most part, comparatively recent immigrants who had been coming to this country in steady streams from Eastern Europe, beginning with the first mass waves of emigration from Russia in the 1880's. These immigrant Jews settled largely in the cities of the Eastern seaboard and Midwest, and the great majority of them had relatives in the Eastern European war zone, with whom they kept in contact through frequent correspondence. Their old-home ties were also renewed with each fresh arrival of groups of immigrants from abroad.

Over fifty per cent of the Jews in the United States at that time earned their livelihood from industrial occupations. To meet their social, cultural, and economic needs, they established synagogues, fraternal orders, *Landsmanschaften* (societies based on common home-town origin), and trade unions. The overwhelming majority of the Jews were Yiddish-speaking. The Yiddish press was then read a good deal more widely and was more influential than it is today, for over sixty-five per cent of the present Jewish population of America is native-born.

Though there was considerable overlapping, the Yiddish-speaking community in the United States was divided generally into three groups: the Orthodox, the Laborites, and the Zionists. The Orthodox were in the majority. A very sizeable and vocal minority belonged to the labor wing, then much more radical than it is today. The Jewish trade unions and labor organizations, noted for their pioneer work in raising the economic and cultural level of the workers, were more interested in furthering socialism as a solution for all social ills than in solving specific Jewish problems. Many of the Jewish workers, however, were also Zionists; and so were many within the Orthodox groups.

The English-speaking Jews, who today constitute the predominant element in American Jewry, were then in the minority. Their social life centered almost exclusively around the synagogue or the local social services, which were chiefly concerned with the administration of relief and the Americanization of the Jewish immigrants through settlement houses of the philanthropic type. What

is now known as the Federation movement was then in its infancy, as was also the Jewish Center movement.

The best-organized religious group among the English-speaking Jews was the Reform wing. Their national organization was the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, which in 1914 included 186 congregations, as compared with 307 congregations today. The Union at that time engaged in activities of civic protection and overseas diplomacy through its Board of Delegates on Civil Rights. But unlike the present situation, the majority of the Reform rabbinate and laity was at that time anti-Zionist. The Conservative movement in Judaism was just beginning to emerge, for the United Synagogue of America, which today is at least as strong as its sister organization of the Reform wing, was then only a year old. English-speaking Orthodox Congregations were limited to a small number of Jews, predominantly of Sephardic, German, and Hungarian origin.

Both the Yiddish-speaking and English-speaking communities were just beginning to establish points of contact with each other through the *Kehillah* movement—the attempt to organize a united Jewish community in New York City. The Zionist movement, to some extent, also provided a meeting ground for both the East-European and the Americanized English-speaking Jews, for in its leadership there were many English-speaking rabbis, professors, and intellectuals, even though a majority of the rather small Zionist membership consisted of Yiddish-speaking Jews.

Significant in the community life of that period was its dual leadership; on the one hand, the paternal, philanthropic leadership of the wealthy, Americanized English-speaking Reform Jews of German origin, most of whom had migrated to this country a generation or two before the East-European Jews; on the other, the leaders of the Yiddish-speaking community, then just beginning to assert itself. The non-Jewish world looked upon the first group as the spokesman of the Jewish community. The Jews coming from Eastern Europe resented this leadership, which they considered undemocratic, but they nevertheless enlisted its aid in times of emergency. Culturally wide-awake, the English-speaking group fairly hummed with a variety of social, cultural, and political activities, and exhibited a keen interest in the political situation abroad.

The outstanding Jewish organization in 1914 was the American Jewish Committee, which had been founded in 1906 by a small

group of well-known Jews, chiefly of German origin, after the Jewish pogroms at Kishinev in Tsarist Russia. This Committee was responsible, in large measure, for the abrogation by the United States in 1912 of its commercial treaty with Russia, in protest against Russia's violation of that treaty in failing to honor the passports of Americans of Jewish faith. Most of the members of the American Jewish Committee at that time belonged to the Reform wing in Judaism, and were inclined to frown upon the aspirations of the Zionists and other so-called Jewish "Nationalists." The Kehillah movement, however, which the Committee sponsored, helped to bring the various groups in the community in contact with one another, thereby contributing to a better mutual understanding. The Committee also took the lead in furnishing overseas relief.

The different groups in the community held divergent points of view with regard to the nature of Jewish group life and its future. The outbreak of the war accentuated these divisions; and when discussion about Jewish rights in the post-war world became widespread, especially after the United States entered the war, the ideological differences gradually crystallized and found expression in three main tendencies.

Jews were looked upon by the nationalists as a people with a common history and a common destiny, possessing a distinctive group personality, with attributes of nationhood. They considered the Jews residing in Central and Eastern Europe a national minority, one of the many national minorities in those areas. If they believed also in rebuilding Palestine as the Jewish Homeland, with Hebrew as a national language, they were Zionists. If, however, they opposed or were indifferent to the idea of a Jewish National Home in Palestine, but favored Jewish minority rights or Jewish Territorial Autonomy, with Yiddish as the official language, they were termed Diaspora-Nationalist Yiddishists or else Yiddishist Territorialists.

Adherents of the anti-nationalist school of thought consisted mostly of Jews in the western countries with a long tradition of emancipation who looked upon Jews not as a people or a national group, but as individuals who differed or should differ from their fellow citizens only in matters of religion. Their thinking on this question was in terms of the Emancipation in Western Europe; namely, that Jews were a religious group and that in all cultural and political matters they were to become identified exclusively with the cultural and political life of the dominant majority in the

country of which they were citizens. Most adherents of this point of view belonged to the Reform wing in Judaism, which proclaimed that Jews had a "mission" to teach religion to mankind.

They felt, too, that any other interpretation of Jewishness might impugn their loyalty to their country in the eyes of many non-Jews and thus endanger their status and security. Proceeding from this premise, they also believed that any emphasis upon Jews as a nationality or on any separatist Jewish movement for minority rights, or for a Jewish National Home, would bring about a sharpening and intensification of anti-Semitism.

The members of this group were often labeled "assimilationists," by the nationalists. Yet many among them were more than merely Jews by religion, since they advocated that Jews should strive for a maximum of Jewish cultural expression and communal organization, as well as for full participation in the cultural life of the country of which they were citizens. Some were even in favor of a religious and cultural (though not a political) center in Palestine.

Those not interested in any form of Jewish survival, constituting the third group in the Jewish community, fell into three categories: there were those who prided themselves on being Socialists, to whom the perpetuation of any group distinctiveness was considered a barrier to the achievement of a socialist world society, those who sought to escape Jewish life for social and economic advantages, and lastly those who saw nothing worth while in any aspect of Jewish group life.

THE PREPARATIONS FOR PEACE IN THE U. S. A.

Pressing problems engaged the attention of the Jewish community and for a while took precedence over the ideological struggle. The many calls of distress from abroad quickened the sense of responsibility of the Jews of America; and so, on October 4, 1914, the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations established the Central Committee for the Relief of Jews Suffering through the War. On October 24, 1914, the American Jewish Committee helped to establish the American Jewish Relief Committee. Both these agencies later merged into the Joint Distribution Committee of the American Funds for Jewish War Sufferers, in which they were subsequently joined by the Jewish Peoples' Relief Committee, representing the workers.

The story of relief rendered by American Jewry to the stricken communities abroad during the First World War, is an eloquent one. Relief activities began on a modest scale with a donation of \$50,000 to the hard-hit community in Palestine by the American Jewish Committee, the Provisional Executive Committee for Zionists Affairs, and by the late Jacob H. Schiff. But by December, 1915, the sum of \$1,500,000 that had been raised in the United States, Canada, and several Latin American countries for relief abroad proved to be insufficient, and a quota of \$5,000,000 was established as the goal for 1916. The sympathy and encouragement of the American people in this effort were generously expressed by President Wilson when, in accordance with a resolution of the United States Senate, he officially designated January 7, 1916, as Jewish Relief Day.

A heavy burden of supplying relief fell upon the shoulders of the Jews of the United States. Their task would have proved insurmountable, had it not been for the activities in the stricken areas by Jewish relief agencies of Eastern Europe, and those of England, France, Germany, Austria, and South America.

The greatest share of relief, in fact, was furnished by the European communities situated in and near the war zones. In Russia, the Jewish Committee for the Relief of Sufferers from the War had been organized at the very beginning of the war in Petrograd (now Leningrad), to care for the Jews in the war zone as well as for those deported. In Germany, the *Juedisches Hilfskomitee fuer Polen* brought relief to Jews in the German-occupied provinces and supplemented the general work of the *Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden*. The *Israelitische Allianz zu Wien*, together with the Austrian Zionist Organization, the Agudas Israel, and others, took care of the needs of the sufferers in Austria-Hungary and in the territory occupied by its army. In England, relief work was conducted by the Distressed Polish Jews Committee; in France, by the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* and other bodies. In the neutral countries, too, relief organizations functioned wherever there was an organized Jewish community.

IDEOLOGICAL CONFLICTS: NEWLY ORGANIZED BODIES EMERGE

Cooperation in relief activities among the Orthodox, Reform, Zionist, and radical Jews was not sufficient to overcome their deep-seated ideological divisions. As discussion of post-war needs in-

creased, the leading Jewish survivalist points of view on Jewish post-war problems soon became manifest. The desire for self-determination after the war by the various submerged nationalities in Europe, particularly by those dwelling in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, helped strengthen the Jewish nationalists, who maintained that the problem of the Jews should be viewed in the same light as the problem of the many oppressed nationalities. Zionists insisted, first, on the recognition of Palestine as the Jewish National Home, to be developed eventually into a Jewish State, and, second, that the Jews in Central and Eastern Europe, besides receiving complete legal equality as individuals, should also be guaranteed certain national minority rights, such as state-subsidized communal autonomy, the right to Sabbath observance, and the use of the Yiddish and Hebrew languages in schools. Most of the Jewish workers at that time shared the Yiddishist point of view in insisting that Yiddish be the sole "national" language of expression. Some nationalists, including both Zionists and Yiddishists, also agitated for a permanent international congress or parliament to represent the Jews of the world.

The anti-nationalists, on the other hand, believed that the emancipation of all Jews as individuals was an adequate solution of post-war Jewish needs. While some among them conceded the importance of Palestine as a center for Jewish immigration and for the development of Jewish cultural and religious life, they did not approve of any development in Palestine that might lead to Jewish statehood. The Reform rabbis were especially emphatic on this point. Some anti-nationalists, however, agreed that in Eastern Europe, in view of the maltreatment of Jews in Rumania and Russia in the past, certain guarantees of religious equality as well as of the right to communal autonomy should be sought at the Peace Table.

The Zionists were the first to organize for the attainment of post-war Jewish aims. Because of the war, their leadership had to be furnished by the strongest neutral community, at that time, the United States. On August 31, 1914, not long after the outbreak of hostilities, the Extraordinary Conference of the American Zionists met in New York and created a Provisional Executive Committee for Zionist Affairs to resume the functions of the World Zionist Organization, electing the late Justice Louis D. Brandeis chairman. This move enhanced the prestige of the Zionist Federation, as the Zionist Organization of America was then called, and helped to

consolidate the nationalist forces in the country. Under the capable leadership of Brandeis, the scope of the Zionists extended far beyond Palestine. They became vitally interested in obtaining public recognition of the Jews in Eastern and Central Europe as a national minority. The achievement of this aim was not considered possible unless the Jews of America were first organized into a united body.

The radical labor groups also became interested in post-war problems. At the outset, all their demands centered about the attempt to obtain equality of rights for Jews as individuals in Russia and Rumania. Already in the early part of 1915, the representatives of the four leading Jewish labor organizations in America—The Workmen's Circle (a fraternal order), the United Hebrew Trades (an association of predominantly Jewish trade unions), the Jewish Socialist Federation of America, and the Forward Association (a corporation publishing the *Jewish Daily Forward*—a Yiddish newspaper)—organized themselves for this purpose into the National Workmen's Committee for Jewish Rights.

Thus by the middle of 1915, the three major groups in American Jewry were well organized. The anti-nationalist and non-Zionist factions were grouped around the American Jewish Committee; the nationalist and Zionist, around the Zionist Federation and kindred bodies; while the radical elements, a mixed group of nationalists and anti-nationalists, were represented by the National Workmen's Committee. The issue among these groups hinged on the definition of Jewish rights (individual or minority group rights, or both), and the attitude towards Palestine. The nationalists favored national rights or cultural autonomy for the Jews of Eastern Europe, and a guarantee of civic, political, and religious equality elsewhere; Zionists, while endorsing the above, considered the restoration of Palestine as a Jewish National Home the primary issue. The anti-nationalist groups, desirous of extending to the East-European Jews the fruits of emancipation in terms of individual rights as defined in the western countries, were opposed to the advocacy of minority rights, and were also unsympathetic to the political program of the Zionists. The radical elements, under the pressure of the Labor Zionist opposition among them, adopted a compromise program. At a conference held in New York, September 5-7, 1915, the National Workmen's Committee adopted a resolution calling for a program demanding "civil, political and national rights for the Jews wherever those rights are denied them."

THE POPULAR DEMAND FOR A CONGRESS

What was to be done in the face of such differences and cleavages? How were the Jews to present a united front at the forthcoming Peace conference?

A great popular demand arose for the setting up of a permanent Congress to represent all Jewish organizations and to function as the American unit in a world-wide organization of a similar type. The widely read Yiddish press was especially vigorous in demanding the establishment of such an organization. The Zionists were in favor of calling a Congress; the American Jewish Committee, however, was opposed to the establishment of a permanent organization, since it believed that the existing organizations could adequately handle post-war problems. When, therefore, a Jewish Congress Organization Committee was created on March 21, 1915, it was comprised only of representatives of the Zionists and certain labor groups. Several months later, in September, 1915, all the labor organizations, through their National Workmen's Committee, approved in principle the idea of convening a Congress, which was subsequently held in Philadelphia on March 26, 1916, and which claimed to represent more than a million Jews.

Aware of the popular demand and desirous of maintaining Jewish unity for the great tasks ahead, the American Jewish Committee, in conjunction with the National Workmen's Committee, which had been seeking to mediate between the Committee and the leaders of the Congress movement, convened in July, 1916, a conference of organizations that had been opposed to the Congress idea, in order to deliberate and reconsider the entire issue. This conference declared itself in favor of calling a Congress of the Jews of America "for the sole purpose of taking appropriate action" on the following: "to secure full rights for the Jews of all lands, and the abrogation of all laws discriminating against them; it being understood that the phrase 'full rights' is deemed to include civil, religious, and political rights, and, in addition thereto, wherever the various peoples of any land are recognized as having separate group rights, the conferring upon the Jews thereof of such rights, if desired by them." The Congress, furthermore, was to be a temporary institution and was to be disbanded within one year after the conclusion of peace negotiations. The leaders of the Congress movement agreed to these

conditions. By the end of 1916, the major differences among the rival groups in American Jewish life were finally composed.

Not long after, on April 6, 1917, the United States Government declared war on Germany. On June 10, 1917, elections were held, and 335,000 men and women cast their ballots for delegates who met shortly thereafter to appoint an Administrative Committee and a number of commissions to make studies and submit reports. These committees went about their work quietly and awaited the official convening of the Congress after the war. Not long after the Armistice, on December 15-18, 1918, 400 Congress delegates from all parts of the country gathered in Philadelphia under the presidency of Judge Julian W. Mack.

Much debate ensued on the use of the term "national rights" instead of "group rights." The differences were finally resolved and the chief resolutions employing the term "national rights" were adopted almost unanimously.

After listening to reports from its various committees, the Congress drew up a "Jewish Bill of Rights" and a set of guiding principles for the negotiations at the Peace Conference. It also unanimously elected a "Commission to Europe," consisting of nine men, and headed by Judge Julian W. Mack, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, and Louis Marshall. Bernard G. Richards was the secretary.

THE PREPARATIONS FOR PEACE IN EUROPE

The three years of peace enjoyed by the Jews in America before war engulfed their country, enabled them to start their preparations earlier. Most European Jews, caught in the war from its very inception in 1914, found it difficult at first to organize and make plans for the peace. In England and France, the Jews found ways and means of presenting to their respective governments their views on the ill-treatment of Jews by Russia and Rumania, fighting allies of their own countries. In the few neutral countries of Europe, the Jews were permitted to express themselves freely. In all these lands, Zionism was making decided inroads among the masses.

Realizing that greater freedom would be theirs if they advanced their cause from neutral countries, the Zionists and other Jewish nationalists set up propaganda centers in Copenhagen, Zurich, and The Hague.

The most important of these centers was the one established by the World Zionists Actions Committee in Copenhagen, in February, 1915. Under the direction of such outstanding men as E. W. Chlenov, Nahum Sokolow, and Leo Motzkin, it served as a clearing house for information; and by devoting special attention to "Jewish national development in the Diaspora," it won the confidence of the East-European Jews.

Early in 1914, the radical Jewish workers in England formed a Labour League for Jewish Rights; but the major work towards the solution of Jewish post-war problems was done by the Zionist Political Committee for the United Kingdom and the Conjoint Committee, later known as the Joint Foreign Committee of the Board of Jewish Deputies and Anglo-Jewish Association. Similarly in France, the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* functioned as the representative body of French Jews. Both the Joint Foreign Committee and the Alliance were unfriendly to the program of the nationalists.

In Germany and Austria, the outstanding Jewish organizations, the *Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden* and the *Israelitische Allianz*, respectively, were strongly anti-nationalist.

Preparations for the clarification of their post-war status were also under way among the Jews in the Eastern war zones. In the regions of Poland under German and Austro-Hungarian war-time occupation in 1916, Jews were demanding recognition as a national minority. This was refused by the Central Powers, who preferred to take into consideration the objections of the Poles, many of whom opposed giving Jews equal rights, let alone national rights.

In Russia the Tsar's hostility to Jewish nationalist activities precluded any possibility of making preparations in the open. Immediately after the overthrow of Tsarism, however, when the Provisional Government of Prince Lvov abolished the oppressive restrictions against Jews, the Jewish community began to prepare itself earnestly for eventual representation in the new democratic and federative Russia. A Jewish National Council was organized, with the Zionists and the Orthodox in the majority.

In the Ukraine, which had at first declared itself an autonomous state of Russia, and later a completely independent country, Jews received full autonomy, and a Ministry of Jewish Affairs was established. There, too, a Jewish National Council was elected by popular vote. But autonomous experiments both in Russia and the Ukraine came to an abrupt end when the Bolsheviks in Russia,

while recognizing the Jews as a nationality, nevertheless prohibited them and all other groups from engaging in nationalist activities. In the Ukraine, the pogromist regime that brought misery and mass slaughter to the Jewish population made it impossible for the Jewish National Council to continue in existence.

In Eastern Galicia, where the dominant Ukrainian majority organized its own independent government, national rights were granted to Jews and a Jewish National Council was duly recognized. The subsequent conquest of this region by Poland also brought an end to this experiment in autonomy.

In other regions, too, Jewish nationalist activities increased with the cessation of hostilities. In Poland the Jews elected a Jewish National Council. Similar Councils sprang up in other regions, and all sent their representatives to the Peace Conference at Paris.

THE BALFOUR DECLARATION

A strong desire to see Palestine restored as a Jewish homeland has persisted among Jews ever since the destruction by the Romans of their Second Temple in Jerusalem in the year 69 A.D. This sentiment for a Zion restored found expression in the traditional prayer book, in folk-lore and songs, and in the holiday rituals, ceremonies, and laws.

The continued persecution of Jews through the ages gave rise in the nineteenth century to a growing interest among non-Jewish thinkers and statesmen in the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish Homeland. Anglican England, nurtured on the Bible, displayed particular interest in this project, since she was concerned with strengthening her empire in the Near East. But it remained for Theodor Herzl to crystallize Zionist sentiment into a political movement by establishing in 1897 the World Zionist Organization.

Though the Zionist movement thereafter contributed to the renaissance of Jewish cultural life, including the revival of Hebrew as a modern spoken language, it did not meet with immediate political success for at least two reasons: many influential Jews in the western countries saw in Zionism a challenge to their interpretation of Judaism; and, secondly, Turkey, in whose empire Palestine was included, was most reluctant to grant a charter to Zionists for Jewish colonization, which she viewed as a threat to her possessions in the Near East.

However, when Turkey entered the war on the side of Germany, Zionist leaders felt that the time was ripe for a reconsideration of the movement's political approach. For the Zionist Organization was an international movement with constituent groups in almost every country of the world, including those in the two belligerent camps. Zionists, divided in their patriotic sentiments according to the country in which they resided, found it expedient to grant to the Zionist organizations in each of these countries full latitude to carry on negotiations with their own respective governments.

The most important of the belligerent governments had their own interests in Palestine. Even before Turkey entered the war, the Allies, in anticipation of such action, were considering the partition of the Turkish Empire. Russia sought control over Constantinople and the Dardanelles in order to secure an outlet from the Black Sea. France had an almost century-old interest in Syria, where she had been active in establishing schools and in supporting Catholic missions as a means of political penetration. To France, furthermore, Palestine was merely a part of Syria. The imperial interests of Britain embraced the whole Near and Middle East from Egypt to India, while the imperial ambitions of Germany and Austria, expressed in the famous slogans—"Berlin to Bagdad" and *Drang nach Osten* (Drive to the East)—were designed to counteract British naval superiority by acquiring land positions.

The advantage, insofar as Zionists were concerned, from the beginning lay definitely on the side of England. Germany could never venture to discuss a partial partition of the territory of her Turkish Ally, while England had long evinced an interest in Jewish rights and was friendly towards Zionism. England had given a practical demonstration of this friendliness when in 1903 she offered to the Zionists a territory of Uganda, in East Africa, which they had rejected, however, in favor of Palestine.

After victory a considerable difference of opinion among the Allies arose concerning the fate of the Turkish-held Arab lands. While Russia was satisfied with the promise of the Dardanelles, France insisted on carrying out the secret Sykes-Picot Treaty between herself and England, signed in March, 1916, and interpreted by France as giving her full control of both Syria and Palestine. This point of view was an obstacle to the realization of Zionist policy, and Zionist leaders in the Allied and neutral countries therefore considered England the more promising of the two countries to be

wooded for Zionist support. They were also convinced that the English people were better acquainted with Jewish needs and with the meaning and objectives of Zionism. At the same time, Zionist diplomacy was vitally interested in persuading France to give up her claims to Palestine.

The German and Austrian Jews naturally looked for help to Berlin. The best that Germany could do to counteract Allied propaganda in neutral lands was to persuade Turkey to stop persecuting the Zionists in Palestine and to permit a limited Jewish colonization there. However, Zionist success in negotiating with Britain prompted a number of German statesmen to promise German aid for free immigration of Jews to Palestine and for the establishment of Jewish communal and cultural autonomy.

Italy, who had joined the Allies in 1915, was favorably inclined towards Zionism. Of a different complexion was the attitude of the Vatican, which, for religious reasons, including its interest in safeguarding the Christian holy places in Palestine, did not relish the idea of restoring temporal power to Jews and preferred that Palestine be placed under the protection of a Catholic nation. It devolved upon Zionist diplomacy to enter into negotiations with the Pope on this matter.

A great deal depended on the attitude of the United States and its large Jewish population. The prospect of achieving Zionist aims after the war contributed to the widespread popularity of Zionism in America, and in May, 1915, the Zionist Executive in Berlin formally transferred its powers to the Provisional Committee in New York.

During the first two years of the war, when it was generally assumed that it would not be of long duration, Zionist leadership in the United States, headed by Justice Louis D. Brandeis, considered that its most important task was to continue to support the Jewish community in Palestine; and it was therefore reluctant to antagonize Turkey. But when the trend in the United States grew increasingly pro-Ally, the Zionists became convinced that their government would support their demands. Early in 1917, Justice Brandeis, who enjoyed the esteem of President Wilson, received sympathetic assurances not only from the President, but also from the British Ambassador to the United States. As a result, discussion took place after the United States entered the war, concerning the possibility of American or joint British-American control over Palestine. It was

only after several conversations with Lord Balfour, the British Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and after realizing how unwilling the United States was to undertake the administration of far-away places, that the Zionists agreed to have Palestine placed under England's jurisdiction. British soldiers, aided by a Jewish Legion, were already waging a campaign in Palestine against the Turks.

Zionist leaders, headed by Professor Chaim Weizmann and Nahum Sokolow, also negotiated successfully with the French and Italian Governments, with the newly established democratic Russian Government, with several neutral countries, and with the Vatican.

But a grave problem confronted the pro-Palestine advocates everywhere. Activity by anti-Zionist Jews was sharply on the increase, especially as the time drew near for an official decision by the Allied Powers on the disposition of Palestine. In the United States the Zionists and anti-Zionists (except for a relatively few die-hards) had united through the American Jewish Congress, but in England and France the anti-Zionists vigorously attempted to counteract the diplomatic activities of the Zionist leaders.

The conflict came to a climax in May, 1917, when the British Government was preparing the text of a declaration that was to state its intentions regarding Palestine. All the political resources of the Zionists and friendly non-Zionists in the United States, England, France, and Russia had to be mobilized. Under the pressure of the anti-Zionists, as manifested in the publication of a letter on Palestine by the Conjoint Foreign Committee in *The London Times* on May 24, 1917, the British government had begun to waver. Chiefly because of the sympathetic interest of President Wilson, the British Government did not succumb to this pressure.

On November 2, 1917, the famous letter addressed to Lord Rothschild, since known as the Balfour Declaration, was released. This Declaration implied the recognition of the Jewish people's historic right to Palestine. It spoke of viewing with favor the "establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people." The vagueness of this phrase "national home" and the reference in the Declaration, not to Palestine as a national home, but to a national home *in* Palestine, met with the disapproval of both Wilson and Brandeis. But the final wording was edited in this manner by the British Government with the obvious intention of appeasing only the anti-Zionists.

THE PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE

As soon as the Armistice with Germany came into effect on November 11, 1918, the leaders of the Allied and Associated Powers began to lay the groundwork for the Peace Conference to be held in Paris. Representatives to direct the Conference were appointed, consisting of two representatives from each of the five major Allied Powers—the U. S. A., Britain, France, Italy, and Japan. Japan, however, withdrew from any participation in a European settlement, and by March 23, 1918, the Conference was reduced to a Council of Four—Wilson, Lloyd George, Clemenceau, and Orlando, one from each of the four major Powers. This Council set up Special Commissions on various problems. The questions of Jewish rights and Palestine were referred to the Committees on New States and Colonial Territories, respectively.

The Jewish delegations who came to Paris from the various communities were confronted from the start with the problem of establishing a united representation. In addition to the delegates sent by the American Jewish Congress, there were representatives from the Canadian Jewish Congress and from the Jewish National Councils of the communities in Czechoslovakia, Eastern Galicia, Poland, and Russia. Ukrainian Jewry was represented by its Jewish National Assembly, and the Rumanian Community by the assimilationist Union of Native Hebrews as well as by delegations of General Zionists and Labor Zionists. From Palestine came the delegates of the *Vaad Le'umi* (Jewish Constituent Assembly). Italy was represented by the Committee of Jewish Communities, the Zionist Federation, and the Rabbinical Federation.

English Jewry was represented by the Joint [Conjoint] Foreign Committee that spoke for the old-established Anglo-Jewish Association and the Board of Deputies of British Jews; and the French community was represented by the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*.

The preponderance of pro-nationalist delegations could be explained by two facts: (1) the Balfour Declaration had made Zionism very popular among the masses and (2) the impending re-arrangement of boundaries in Central and Eastern Europe had compelled many Jews to assert their Jewish nationality. For example, Jews in the Slovak and Rumanian regions of Hungary had hitherto considered themselves not merely Magyar citizens but also Hungarians nationally and culturally, and had identified themselves as Jews

only religiously. But when their territory was to become part of Czechoslovakia or Rumania, they decided that they could not turn overnight into Czechs or Rumanians, and so they preferred to classify themselves nationally and culturally as Jews, and as Czechoslovaks or Rumanians with regard to citizenship and political allegiance. Similar dilemmas were faced by German Jews in territories acquired by Poland, and by Jews in the other new states.

The demand for national rights by the East and Central European delegations included the rights of Jews to their own languages, to religious autonomy, to a state-supported school system, and to the same group rights enjoyed by any other minority in any given country in these regions. The (Jewish) anti-nationalists of Britain and France objected to these demands. The Joint Foreign Committee of Britain was willing to agree to cultural and religious group rights, but objected to national minority rights. The *Alliance Israélite Universelle* objected to the granting of any demands beyond those involving civil equality. With regard to Palestine, these two organizations were in favor of Jewish immigration but were opposed to the establishment of a Jewish National Home, let alone a Jewish State.

Differences arose also among the pro-nationalist delegations concerning the nature of the demands to be presented and the methods of approach to be employed. However, on March 22, 1919, all the delegations, with the exception of those representing the English and French organizations, joined forces and called themselves the "Committee of Jewish Delegations at the Peace Conference." The guiding spirits and negotiators in the formation of this Committee were the Americans—Julian W. Mack and Louis Marshall; the Polish leaders—Nahum Sokolow and Leon Reich; and the Russian leaders—Menahem Ussischkin and Leo Motzkin. This Committee was responsible for the formulation of the three types of Jewish demands: (1) Civil and political equality everywhere, (2) Minority rights for the Jews in the new states to be established, *viz.*, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Finland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and in the enlarged states of Rumania, Yugoslavia, and Greece, (3) Incorporation of the principles of the Balfour Declaration into the international treaties.

The establishment of the Committee of Jewish Delegations at the Peace Conference was a remarkable demonstration of Jewish communal responsibility. It had difficult tasks ahead and it met with

obstacles from its very inception. The representatives of the new and enlarged states objected to the granting of minority rights to Jews. Poland and Rumania felt that unless the request for minority rights applied to all nations, it would be unfair to make such demands of them. Most of the new and enlarged states looked forward, of course, to the forcible assimilation of their minorities. The Committee of Jewish Delegations was thus confronted not only with the problem of impressing their needs upon the Big Four, but with answering and offsetting the objections raised by the representatives of the new and enlarged states.

Following months of negotiations, a compromise was finally reached by the Peace Conference. It was agreed that without recognizing the principle of national minorities, individuals belonging to linguistic, racial, and religious minorities would receive international protection. On June 28, 1919, the treaty between Poland and the Allied and Associated Powers was signed.

This treaty became a model for the protection of all minorities, since similar provisions, with slight modification, were incorporated in the treaties with Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Greece, Albania, and others. The provisions of these treaties guaranteed full and complete civil and political rights to all individuals belonging to religious, racial, and linguistic minorities residing in the countries with which the treaties were made. The treaties further stipulated that citizenship was not to depend upon naturalization or some other formality but was to be granted automatically to the residents of any particular country as soon as the treaty with that country became operative. To the hitherto oppressed Jews of Poland and Rumania, these treaties brought formal emancipation.

The demands relating to Palestine were presented by the World Zionist Organization with the cooperation of the Committee of Jewish Delegations.

The Balfour Declaration was only an official expression of Great Britain's attitude toward Zionist aspirations. It now remained to integrate the idea of a Jewish National Home within the framework of the new post-war world. The Zionists experienced considerable difficulty in accomplishing this objective. Anti-Zionists, particularly those of England and France, persisted in agitating against the establishment of the Jewish National Home. Then again, France was still anxious to obtain control over Syria, including Palestine, which she considered to be "Southern Syria"; hence the French

objected to Britain's attempts to build up a number of independent Arab states. Missionary interests, too, both Catholic and Protestant, had their own views on the proper solution of the Palestine problem. They were generally opposed to Zionist aspirations, mainly because the restoration of Palestine to the Jewish people did not fit in with their theological doctrine that Jews had been destined to suffer eternal dispersion, in consequence of their alleged guilt in crucifying Jesus of Nazareth. In Britain itself, public opinion was not agreed as to the proper disposition of Palestine.

Furthermore, the British military administration in Palestine, hostile to Jewish aspirations, preferred to promote Arab interests. Some administrators imbued with anti-Semitism deliberately stirred up trouble and fomented riots in Palestine so as to prove to the world that there existed a strong Arab opposition to a Jewish Palestine. Another unfortunate circumstance was that the King-Crane Commission, which President Wilson had sent to investigate the situation in the Near East, adopted a pro-Arab bias and reported unfavorably on Zionist claims. All these factors combined to make the outlook for the success of the Zionists at the Peace Conference rather doubtful.

Fortunately for the Jews, the entire Palestine question had to be postponed because the Peace Conference could not conclude a treaty with Turkey, who was busy resisting with armed might the extravagant territorial claims made upon her by Greece. During this period of intermission, the Zionists mobilized all their resources and continued to press their claims at the Peace Conference.

On February 27, 1919, the Zionist delegates, together with other representative Jews, appeared before the Supreme Council of the Allied and Associated Powers in Paris, to present the Jewish claims with respect to Palestine. Their efforts met with success, and the same day Dr. Chaim Weizmann summarized the results of these representations as follows: "We have obtained full recognition of the historic title of the Jewish people in Palestine and of the Jewish right to constitute a National Home there." [Later (April, 1920), in a conference at San Remo, Italy, the Supreme Council decided to grant England the Mandate over Palestine, which Mandate was subsequently affirmed by the Council of the League of Nations on July 24, 1922.]

Following the signing of the Treaty of Versailles on June 28, 1919, the Committee of Jewish Delegations continued to maintain

temporary offices though it did not exert much influence, mainly because the various Jewish National Councils had ceased to function. The delegates of the American Jewish Congress returned to the United States, and after presenting a report, read by Mr. Louis Marshall, adjourned *sine die* (without setting a date for reconvening), in accordance with the basic agreement.

Two major achievements were credited to the Committee of Jewish Delegations at the Peace Conference, the outstanding leaders of which were Judge Julian Mack, Louis Marshall and Nahum Sokolow. Together with the representatives of the World Zionist Organization, the Committee obtained Allied endorsement of the Balfour Declaration; and by virtue of its own efforts, it was instrumental in getting the many Minorities Treaties signed, which recognized the equal rights of Jews as of all other minority peoples. Both of these accomplishments were of great importance.

For the Jews of the world, the right was won to build up Palestine as the Jewish Homeland. For the Jews of Europe, they achieved through the Minorities Treaties, the emancipation for which they had been striving for more than a century. The fact that the guarantees in the Minorities Treaties ultimately failed of their purpose was not the fault of the Committee of Jewish Delegations. The new political frontiers that were established as a result of the treaties were so drawn by the Peace Conference that only three per cent of the total population of the European continent lived under alien rule. Judged by the test of self-determination, no previous European frontiers had been so satisfactory. The eventual breakdown of the peace settlement and of the safeguards in the Minorities Treaties was the result, in large measure, of the failure of the Peace Conference to lay the permanent bases for a durable peace.

EUROPE BETWEEN WARS (1919–1939)

. . . saying "Peace, peace," when there is no peace.
—Jeremiah VI, 14.

WHAT factors contributed to the breakdown of peace in the twenty-year period between the Peace Settlement of 1919 and the outbreak of the Second World War?

To begin with, the League of Nations, in which President Wilson and others placed so much hope and trust, proved ineffectual. Its work was hampered from the outset by the absence of the United States. As a result of the 1920 elections, the American Government withdrew into what was then called "splendid isolation." Had the United States joined the League, it is possible that the beginnings of a new world government might have been established, with totally different consequences to the peace of the world.

Another equally important factor that exerted a major influence in the period between world wars was the rise of a communist regime in Russia. When the Bolsheviks seized power in 1917, they took Russia out of the war. That, together with the abolition of the capitalist system, earned for Soviet Russia the animosity of the other nations. The establishment of the Communist Third International, committed to the overthrow of world capitalism, with headquarters in Moscow, engendered a fear of Communism in all nations—a fear which demagogues and political adventurers methodically exploited for their own ends. Fighting the "Red menace" and the trumped-up "Jewish menace" proved to be the favorite psychological weapons of the fascist dictators.

Fascism itself, the end-product of many converging forces, had its beginning in Italy, which after the war was unable to organize a stable democratic regime. Italy's failure to receive certain ter-

territorial concessions from the Peace Conference was exploited by chauvinistic elements for anti-democratic purposes. By manufacturing a "menace" of a Socialist revolution, and exploiting the existing social discontent, Mussolini and his "Blackshirts" were able to seize state power.

The world depression of 1929 and the resultant widespread suffering enabled other aspiring dictators to rise to power. In Germany, Hitler fanned to a burning flame the popular resentment against the "Versailles Diktat" (dictated peace). Incessantly, he harped on the need for combatting the "Communist Menace" and he made of anti-Semitism a national phobia. Playing upon the fears, hatreds, and loyalties of the German people, he finally succeeded in seizing state power.

Fascists in Italy, Germany, and other countries found fertile soil in the growing want, insecurity, and resentment of the masses of people. Being incapable of solving these social problems, they embarked upon a policy of suppressing democratic rights at home and undertaking of territorial aggression abroad. While the fascist nations were feverishly arming themselves, the democracies remained militarily and psychologically unprepared. They did not fully comprehend the danger to their own security, in the growth of fascist power and they tolerated fascist aggressions because they wanted to avoid war at any cost.

The abandonment of the minorities and the smaller states to fascist encroachment led to a rapid deterioration of international morality, boding ill for the weaker peoples and especially the Jews. The Jews of Europe were the worst sufferers, largely because Hitler made anti-Semitism an official state policy, and saw to it that it was ruthlessly enforced. Moreover, the appeasement policy of the democracies and the growing strength of Nazi Germany gave the cue to Fascists and would-be dictators in other nations to embark upon a more militant policy of anti-Semitism.

The collapse of the whole structure of Minority guarantees that had been introduced in the East-European countries seriously impaired the position of the Jews. Local political and economic conditions, the rise of Fascism, and the impotence of the League of Nations, which was supposed to guarantee these Minority rights, contributed to the catastrophe.

Only the Palestine Mandate, which the League granted to Britain, proved of lasting value to the Jews. But in this matter too, the Jews

suffered one setback after another until it was made virtually impossible for them to enter their "National Home." Because of this and because of the restriction of immigration to the United States and other countries, including the U.S.S.R., the Jewish population on the European continent found itself hopelessly trapped, once Nazi Germany had gathered in most of Europe.

The twenty-year period of so-called peace in Europe proved in reality to be an armistice between two World Wars.

THE MAP OF EUROPE AFTER THE PEACE OF 1919

The Peace Treaties following World War I effected only minor changes in the territorial structure of Western Europe. Radical changes, however, took place in Eastern Europe:—in the region bounded by Germany and the Adriatic Sea on the West, Russia on the East, the Baltic on the North, and the Black and Aegean Seas on the South. The dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the secession from Russia of the peoples inhabiting her western provinces, created six new states:—Czechoslovakia, which was created from former Austro-Hungarian territory; Poland, comprised of territories taken from Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Germany; and the Baltic states of Finland, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, all former provinces of Tsarist Russia.

In addition to the establishment of these new states, a number of existing Allied countries were increased in territory and population. Thus, Rumania was considerably enlarged by its acquisition of former Austrian, Hungarian, Bulgarian, and Russian territories; the Serbian kingdom was transformed into the larger state of Yugoslavia, receiving territorial gains at the expense of Bulgaria and the former Austria-Hungary; Greece was augmented at the expense of Turkey and Bulgaria. As a result of these territorial changes, there were two new, drastically reduced states—Austria and Hungary. Turkey had lost her Arabic-speaking possessions, and Bulgaria, too, gave up some of her former territory. The previously large economic unit of Austria-Hungary was broken up into a number of independent but relatively small and economically weak units. The same was true, to some extent, of Russia.

In his Fourteen Points setting forth conditions for peace, President Wilson promised that the victorious Allies would draw the map of Europe in accordance with the principle of self-determina-

tion of peoples. In making the changes that we have noted, the Peace Conference of 1919 was largely guided by this concept. But even the broad application of the Wilsonian principle of self-determination failed to eliminate the national Minorities problem in Eastern Europe. The population of this region, as distinguished from the rather homogeneous populations of Western Europe, was composed of nationalities and ethnic groups that were closely intermingled and that lived side by side, though not always on very friendly terms. Even if the Wilsonian principle of self-determination of peoples had been fully applied, it would have been quite impossible to have drawn the map of Eastern Europe so as to include within the boundaries of each state people belonging to only one nationality.

Notwithstanding this circumstance, the new map of Eastern Europe was a decided improvement over the pre-war situation, though about one-fourth of the 100 million people residing in the states of this region were still members of minorities. Over one-third of the population of the new Poland consisted of Ukrainians, Jews, White Russians, and others. Jews comprised ten per cent of the population of Poland. In Czechoslovakia, in addition to Czechs and Slovaks, who comprised two-thirds of the total population there was a large percentage of Germans (22%), Hungarians (about 5%), and other minorities. In Rumania, twenty-eight per cent of the population consisted of minorities, mostly Hungarians, Bulgarians, and Jews. Minorities totaled 12% in Estonia, 14% in Hungary and Yugoslavia, and 15% in Lithuania.

The makers of the Peace felt that these minorities should not be left to the mercy of the majority populations. President Wilson believed "that nothing was likely to disturb the peace of the world more than the treatment which might under certain circumstances be meted out to minorities." Partly because of the efforts of the Jewish delegations to the Peace Conference, the Allied Powers considered it imperative to impose upon the East-European countries special Treaties or provisions guaranteeing to the linguistic, racial, and religious minorities, equal rights and opportunities with the majority population. The League of Nations was delegated to see that these Treaties were enforced and the rights of minorities protected.

Minority obligations were confined only to the East-European countries, and did not apply to either Germany or Western Europe.

As a result, the East-European countries, especially Poland and Rumania, protested against what they considered discriminatory treatment. Despite their protests, the Allied leaders refused to withdraw the Minority Treaties or make them applicable to all European countries.

The defeated powers—Germany and Turkey—were deprived by the Peace Treaties of all their overseas colonies and possessions. Had the Allied and Associated Powers resorted to the old principle that to the victors belong the spoils, they would have divided those colonies among themselves and substituted their sovereignty for that formerly exercised by Germany and Turkey. But a new principle with regard to colonies—the mandate system—emerged at the Peace Conference, in direct contradiction to the imperialistic concept according to which undeveloped countries and peoples were exploited for the benefit of the more advanced European nations. This concept was replaced by the idea that the backward Asiatic and African territories should be administered in the interest of their own inhabitants, who were to be guided and educated by the more advanced nations until such time as they could govern themselves. Wilson and those who believed that World War I was fought, not for the sake of Allied imperialism, but in order “to make the world safe for democracy” strongly advocated the application of this new principle.

But Great Britain, France, Japan, and Italy, through a number of secret pacts, had already parcelled out among themselves the German and Turkish colonies and possessions. As a result, Wilson and his friends were faced with a *fait accompli* and forced to accept the secretly agreed-upon division of the spoils. To soften the blow, the former German and Turkish colonies were given to the Allied countries as a “mandate” or trust, under the supervision of the League of Nations. The “Mandatory Powers” were charged with administering the mandates as “a sacred trust of civilization” until the native populations were themselves ready for self-government. Palestine, one of the mandated countries, was taken from the defeated Turkish Empire and entrusted by the League to Britain as the Mandatory Power, whom it charged with the responsibility of supervising the building of a Jewish National Home.

The new map of Europe greatly changed the territorial distribution of the Jews. Before the war, more than 6,000,000 Jews (nearly half of world Jewry) had lived in Tsarist Russia, then the center of

Jewish population and culture. The creation of Poland and the Baltic states, and the addition of Bessarabia to Rumania, left only 2,500,000 Jews in Soviet Russia, while 3,500,000 Jews of the former Russia found themselves under the rule of the new Baltic States, Poland, and Rumania. The Austro-Hungarian Empire, another great Jewish center with about 2,000,000 Jews, was dismembered and its population divided among Poland, Rumania, Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Italy.

Poland had the largest Jewish community in post-Versailles Europe, with 2,854,000 Jews according to the 1921 census. They constituted more than 10% of the total population. Rumania, a major territorial beneficiary of World War I, had 900,000 Jews or 5.5% of the population, while Hungary's 473,000 Jews formed 6% of her population. Only 230,000 Jews (3.5%) were left in the newly established Austrian Republic. Democratic Czechoslovakia had a Jewish population of 356,000 (2.4%). Lithuania and Latvia emerged with large Jewish populations of 155,000 (7.6%) and 93,000 (4.9%) respectively. These changes, however, did not affect the general regional distribution of the European Jewish population, for the bulk of the Jews continued to live in the Eastern part of the continent.

THE WESTERN DEMOCRACIES AND EASTERN EUROPE:
BEFORE AND AFTER THE RISE OF HITLER

The post-war order completed the march of Jewish emancipation throughout Europe. In Soviet Russia, Jews received equality by the legislation of the March, 1917, Revolution. Clauses granting equality rights were introduced in the constitutions of all the new and Succession states (those states formed out of the dismemberment of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy—Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, and Yugoslavia). The introduction of the Mandate system and the granting of the mandate over Palestine to England seemingly assured the construction of the Jewish National Home in Palestine. Conditions in post-war Europe seemed favorable to Jews both in the East and the West.

The victory of the Allied Powers greatly strengthened democracy in the countries of Western, Central, and other parts of Europe where the Jews had traditionally enjoyed the fruits of emancipation. Following the Peace, the Jews of Great Britain, France, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Austria, and

the Scandinavian countries continued to take for granted their status of equality and had little fear of losing it in the future. As citizens of their respective countries, the majority among them considered themselves Jews by religion or descent only. Their rapid assimilation to the majority culture continued, and in some countries a good many Jews completely abandoned their membership in the Jewish community. Since Jews were citizens with equal rights, they were naturally to be found among all political parties.

The basic economic status of the Jews in the western countries did not undergo much change after the war. While sections of the Jewish population suffered greatly in some of these countries because of the war, currency inflation, and financial disturbances, they readily readjusted themselves to their respective national economies. Even during the Depression, their situation continued to be favorable in comparison with the plight of the Jews residing in Eastern Europe. This relatively favorable status was true not only of those Jews whose ancestors had lived in Western Europe for generations, but also of the new immigrants who had been streaming into the countries of Western Europe even before the World War.

The flow of Eastern European Jews to the countries of Western Europe continued after the war. France and Belgium welcomed new immigrants because they badly needed labor for the reconstruction of the regions devastated during the war. The tendency to settle in the Western European countries became even more pronounced with the passage of the Immigration Quota Laws in the United States in 1924, and with the adoption of similar restrictions by the Latin-American countries, as well as by Canada, Australia, and South Africa.

Many of the immigrants engaged at first in their former occupations—in the needle industry, the leather and fur industries, and in petty commerce. Before long, a large number of them succeeded in improving their economic position.

The influx of these newcomers to the countries of the West created new problems for their Jewish communities. A great difference in outlook existed between the Western European Jews who were largely of the middle class and emancipated, and the new arrivals from Eastern Europe. At first, there was very little contact and sometimes much misunderstanding between these two Jewish groups. Before long, however, their economic differences were in many instances bridged; while the younger generation increasingly adapted

itself to the ways of the country. Jewish communal and philanthropic interests continued to remain in the hands of the older residents, while the new arrivals were the backbone of Jewish nationalist-cultural life.

The sense of security that the Jews in Western Europe experienced was heightened by the relative absence or mildness of anti-Semitism. They considered the strength of the democratic tradition in these countries a sufficient guarantee of their security and equality of rights. The advent of Hitler to power in 1933, however, quickly weakened the underpinnings of Jewish trust in the future.

The fascist and semi-fascist groups in Western Europe were strengthened in their belief that anti-Semitism could serve them, as it had served the Nazis, as an instrument for seizing power. Fascism appealed not only to the oppressed and discontented, but also to prosperous conservative groups who looked upon it as an insurance against the further spread of liberal and radical movements and the extension of social legislation. With this in mind, big industrialists, landowners and corporations subsidized the fascist groups in Western Europe. These monied groups were not necessarily anti-Semitic, but they did not object to the use of anti-Jewish propaganda if it advanced the fascist cause. Foreign Jews, because they were a conspicuous target, were the first to be attacked. Funds sent from Germany to maintain fascist groups and anti-Semitic propaganda abroad was a regular aspect of Nazi fifth-column activity.

Unfortunately, wide sections of the population in the democracies were not fully aware of the danger to their own security in tolerating these foreign-inspired fascist activities. Public opinion underestimated the gravity of the Paris riots of February 6, 1934, when the Fascists almost succeeded in effecting a *coup d'état* against French democracy; while in Great Britain the Mosley movement was merely ridiculed by most people.

Fascist victories soon changed the public attitude. The substantial gains made by the Rexist party of Degrelle in the 1936 Belgian elections, the Italian attack on Ethiopia, and the fascist counter-revolution in Spain brought about a broader popular awakening to the menace of Fascism. The great majority of the people, disgusted with the excesses of their native fascist parties, began to realize that these parties were nothing but tools of Hitlerite Germany.

In the years immediately preceding the outbreak of World War II, there was a marked decline in the strength of the organized fascist

parties in Western Europe. Mosley in Great Britain, Degrelle in Belgium, and the Cagoulard and Doriot movements in France lost many of their followers before 1939. However, Hitlerism remained popular with some influential circles in the aristocracy and upper middle class of England and France, and the governments of Chamberlain and Daladier followed an appeasement policy toward Fascism culminating in the perfidious sell-out of Czechoslovakia at Munich in September, 1938. Popular support of this policy was based not on sympathy with Hitlerism, but on the overwhelming desire to avoid war at any cost.

At the same time, the peoples of Western Europe became conscious of the existence of a Jewish problem. While they refused to follow Hitler's methods in dealing with this problem, many of them succumbed at least partially to the steady and strident anti-Semitic propaganda of the Hitlerites. Those members of the middle class, including the intellectuals, who believed that their economic position would be improved with the elimination of their Jewish competitors, did not hesitate to accept the anti-Semitic arguments of the Nazis. Many newspapers reflecting conservative and reactionary tendencies, especially in France, contributed to the spread of anti-Semitism. Some of them were notoriously in the pay of the Nazis. Despite all this, there was great sympathy for the Jewish victims of Nazism in Western Europe, where scores of thousands of German Jews found a haven of refuge.

A different trend developed in the area between Russia, Germany, Austria, and Italy, the region to which we shall henceforth refer as Eastern Europe (embracing also Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and the Balkans). Though the newly created states did not have strong democratic traditions, they nevertheless adopted the parliamentary form of government and incorporated in their constitutions the principle of equality for all.

Some of the peoples granted independence by the Peace Treaties had not been masters of their own destiny for centuries. Poland had been partitioned by Prussia, Austria, and Russia at the end of the eighteenth century, while the new states of Estonia and Latvia had never enjoyed independence. These nations, unaccustomed to independent government, were confronted immediately after the war with the problem of adjusting themselves economically and politically to a complex industrial world.

All the East-European nations were predominantly agricultural.

The great landowners in these countries were traditionally the ruling class, while the peasants, who formed the vast majority of the population, lived on a very low standard of living.

The economy of the East-European countries continued to be based (as before the war) mainly, on the export of agricultural products and raw materials, and on the import of industrial and finished goods from the West. As long as a relative freedom of economic exchange operated throughout Europe, trade prospered and exerted a beneficent influence upon European economy as a whole. Jews were especially active in the promotion of trade, since the native aristocracy disdained to engage in commerce, while the educated sections of the Christian middle class usually preferred employment in the civil services, professions, army, and clergy.

The creation of the new post-war states, resulting in the setting up of a number of independent economic units in Eastern Europe where previously they had existed as parts of large economic blocs, exerted a detrimental effect on trade. This led to the rise of economic nationalism and the extension of Statism, the state control of economic life. Every country, no matter how small, endeavored to become economically self-sufficient. This tendency towards autarchy was unquestionably a major factor in Europe's economic decline. As the economic depression continued and jobs became increasingly scarce, the governments of the East-European countries sought to allay social discontent by directing it against Jews and by awarding jobs and positions held by Jews to their own ethnic nationals.

The process of eliminating Jews from their positions received further impetus from the rise of literacy and education among the peoples of Eastern Europe. Before the World War I, Tsarist Russia attempted to keep her population in a state of ignorance and illiteracy, knowing full well that education of the masses, and more particularly of the minorities, would endanger the continued existence of autocratic rule. In the new states, the recently liberated peoples, vitally interested in raising the level of their native and long-oppressed cultures, introduced compulsory elementary education throughout Eastern Europe. Many secondary schools and universities were established and the sons of the peasants flocked to these schools, where they were educated in a strongly nationalistic spirit. Before long, the large number of educated people constituted a troublesome labor surplus, with many of them unable to obtain the civil service or military positions they sought. The members of the

newly educated middle class, heeding agitators' outcries that their only chance of obtaining jobs lay in the elimination of the Jews, sought to displace the latter from the urban professions, industry, and commerce.

Until the First World War, migration had served to drain off the excess population of peasants. But with the enactment of the United States Quota Laws in 1924 and the closing of the gates to new entrants in other countries, the villages in Eastern Europe became seriously overcrowded. The standard of living of the great majority of peasants remained at a very low level. Furthermore, in some countries such as Poland and Hungary, the promised radical agrarian reforms were realized only to a limited extent. The average peasant's landholding grew smaller. Many of the younger peasants, seeing no future on the land, drifted to the cities and swelled the ranks of the already numerous unemployed city proletariat. In the cities they saw Jewish petty traders and artisans whom they sought to displace, though the Jews themselves barely earned enough for subsistence. The position of the Jews in the cities became extremely precarious, for in the lower economic brackets they were threatened by increasing infiltration from the villages, while in the upper economic strata the rising non-Jewish middle class endeavored to oust them from their positions in industry, commerce, and the professions.

Every East-European state was inhabited by several nationalities. Except perhaps for Czechoslovakia, the ruling factions generally discriminated against their minorities. Hostility toward minorities was so prevalent in some countries that any political party cooperating with the national minorities was branded as treasonable. This meant that in countries like Poland and Rumania parliamentary representatives of the minorities, which constituted about one-third of the population, were precluded from joining coalition cabinets which, in view of the multiplicity of parties and groups, provided the only means of attaining a stable democratic government.

Jews, as a rule, proved to be the minority group most loyal and least disturbing to the security of the new states. Nevertheless, they were accused in some cases of being transmitters of the culture of the former ruling nations. For instance, in the Slovak provinces that were detached from Hungary they were accused of remaining faithful to Magyar culture and Hungarian aspirations, while in the Baltic countries Jews were charged with remaining loyal to Russian

culture. At the same time, whenever Jews tried to adopt the majority culture, they were accused of "Judaizing" or dominating the native culture.

The identification of the Jews with the "Red Menace" through exploiting the Jewish origin of some Soviet revolutionaries was another propaganda device employed by reactionaries bent upon the destruction of democratic institutions in general, and Jewish security in particular. The real purpose behind these anti-Jewish aspersions was the expropriation of Jewish property and positions. During the pre-Hitler period of anti-Semitism in Eastern Europe, the cynical materialism of this economic war on the Jews was concealed behind allegedly religious slogans calling upon the faithful to defend "Christianity."

The lack of democratic traditions in Eastern Europe encouraged the rise of the so-called "strong-man" with his claim to establish "order" through the elimination of the "parliamentary mess." Democratic institutions in Eastern Europe were not the normal outgrowth of native political, social, and economic development but were adopted hastily and without intellectual preparation after the war, following President Wilson's espousal of the rights of small nations.

The two-party system characteristic of the Anglo-American democracies was unknown on the European continent. Constant changes in cabinets, resulting from the multiplicity of parties, was a permanent feature even in the democratic countries of Western Europe, which possessed long traditions of independence and respect for the rights of individuals and minority groups. In Eastern Europe, where a multiple-party system prevailed, the existence of a great number of political parties and groups in the parliaments and the exclusion from the government of national minority representation severely hampered the functioning of democratic government. Moreover, the dominant Churches generally sided with the reactionary groups against the liberals and the minorities, which in most cases were also religious minorities.

Authoritarian regimes were not long in taking root in such a tension-laden atmosphere—Poland saw the rise of Josef Pilsudski in 1926; in Lithuania, Smetona took power in 1926; and Hungary had been administered as a dictatorship by Admiral Horthy since the liquidation of a local Soviet experiment in 1920. Austria, Latvia, and a number of Balkan states followed suit.

Whatever the original reasons for the establishment of a dictatorial regime in any particular state, the dictators soon lost contact with their own people, and became heads of powerful cliques concerned with perpetuating themselves in power. Towards this end they invariably resorted to anti-Semitism whenever they felt the need of a scapegoat to deflect popular discontent.

DISCRIMINATORY PRACTICES AGAINST THE JEWS

Even before Hitler, discriminatory measures against Jews had been in operation in Eastern Europe. But not until his rise to power did the dictators of Eastern Europe use anti-Semitism as an instrument of policy in all fields of human endeavor—economic, political, social, and cultural.

The Jews of Eastern Europe constituted a large percentage of the urban population and were therefore an important factor in economic life. In Poland and Lithuania, for instance, they comprised about one-third of the total population of the cities, where they engaged largely in trade, handicrafts, and industry. In agriculture and heavy industry, on the other hand, they were very poorly represented. In view of this economic stratification of the Jewish population, laws and administrative measures could easily be enacted which, while couched in general terms and ostensibly applying equally to all, were in effect directed mainly against the Jews. Tax laws were so conceived as to impose the greatest burden on the cities, and consequently upon the urban Jews. The cities of Eastern Europe paid most of the taxes, though the nations of that region were predominantly agricultural.

In the guise of general laws, which to all appearances applied equally to all citizens, Eastern Europe succeeded in depriving the Jews of their economic positions. The creation of state monopolies and state enterprises weighed heavily against the Jews, for when the governments took over control of industries, they eliminated the Jewish workers, technicians, and managers. The credit system, too, which came increasingly under the control of the state, was used to favor members of the majority, to the great disadvantage of the Jews. Moreover, through a system of state aid and export premiums, the governments of Eastern Europe tightened their grip on foreign trade, which had previously been handled largely by Jewish firms. Furthermore, the Jews were generally refused all state or local gov-

ernment employment, and the number of Jews in the civil service was very limited. Considerable discrimination existed also against Jewish doctors, nurses, teachers, and social workers in government-controlled social institutions and agencies.

Anti-Jewish discrimination was applied in yet another sphere. Jewish hospitals, orphanages, and other philanthropic institutions received little if any support from the government and had to rely completely on Jewish resources, while the non-Jewish charitable institutions were generously aided by state or municipal grants raised from general taxation. Without financial support from Jewish relief organizations abroad, the Jews in Poland, Rumania, and other countries could not have continued to maintain their social and charitable institutions. Jewish religious institutions also benefited little from the financial aid that the state granted to all religious groups.

Unlike the Jews in the Western European countries, the Jews in Eastern Europe had very little opportunity to join the political parties of the majority populations. Moreover, the political structure was generally organized on an ethnic-national basis, with individuals usually belonging to parties restricted to members of their own national group. Except for the Socialists and a few other progressive groups, the political parties of the majority nationality usually refused to accept Jews as members. In Poland and to some extent in other countries, Jews joined political parties of their own. The main ones were the Zionist, the Orthodox, and the Socialist Labor.

The policy of discrimination against minorities practiced by the East-European governments was applied to Jewish representation in the various elective bodies. The numerical representation of Jews in the parliaments and local organs of self-government was kept far below the proportion due them. The governments resorted to the policy of gerrymandering districts—reducing the vote of the Jewish population by special re-districting and similar devices. Even their limited representation was resented by the reactionary groups. Indicative of this resentment was the assassination by a national fanatic in 1922 of the first president of the Polish Republic, Stanislaw Narutowicz, because, elected with the help of the votes of the Jewish deputies, he was a President “elected by the Jews.”

No Jew in Eastern Europe could hope to reach a position similar to that of Léon Blum in France or Leslie Hore-Belisha in England, or even obtain a high government post. Anti-Semitism was so strong

a force in the national life of Eastern Europe that even the Socialist and other progressive parties could not afford to present the candidacy of Jews for high political and government posts.

Inasmuch as the minorities in the post-Versailles world were supposed to be protected by an international system of guarantees under the League of Nations, the Jews in Eastern Europe were hopeful about their future. The Peace Settlement included in the constitutions of the new and Succession states the principle of legal equality for all citizens. Special guarantees for minorities were imposed by the Allied powers upon Poland, Rumania, Lithuania, Greece, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Hungary, Turkey, Estonia, Latvia, and Finland. Some governments of Eastern Europe resented this compulsion to guarantee Minority rights and, since not all the European states became signatories to such guarantees, they protested against what they considered a discriminatory attitude.

But the Great Powers, consistently refusing to concede the principle that Minority guarantees should apply to all states, maintained that no minority problems of importance existed outside Eastern Europe, and that general extension of Minority guarantees to all states would only create artificial minorities and encourage certain groups to claim special privileges.

The rights of Jews were deliberately and flagrantly flouted in the field of education, though the Minorities Treaties included clauses giving members of minorities equal rights to establish, manage, and control schools and other educational institutions, and the right to use their own language. The governments had solemnly undertaken to provide adequate facilities for primary schools, with instruction in the languages of the minorities in those towns and districts where they constituted a sizeable proportion of the population. The minorities were also to be granted a proper share of public funds for educational purposes.

Despite these provisions the national minorities, and particularly the Jews, failed to receive substantial subsidies for their educational institutions, and the Jewish communities were generally forced to maintain elementary and secondary schools at their own expense. Furthermore, most of the schools where Hebrew or Yiddish was a major language of instruction were not recognized by the authorities. Consequently, their graduates were at a disadvantage when they desired to enter technical schools or universities.

Discrimination against Jews in the technical schools and universities became the general practice throughout Eastern Europe. Attempts were made to introduce an official *numerus clausus* (a percentage ratio in proportion to the general population) for Jewish students, but no official laws were needed. The university authorities, having full autonomy, reduced the proportion of Jewish students, especially since the number of non-Jews seeking admission was steadily on the increase. In the medical and engineering schools, discrimination against Jews was particularly acute.

In addition to educational rights, the Minorities treaties granted minorities the right to use their mother-tongue in business and private life and also gave them "adequate facilities" before the courts (though not before administrative state bodies). To the Jews, this meant the elimination of the former legal discrimination that prohibited bookkeeping and negotiating contracts in Yiddish. But this privilege was not translated into practice. In Poland, for example, a law declaring invalid all documents written in Hebrew letters remained in force. Czechoslovakia embodied a similar clause in its Exchange Law as late as 1927. In the courts of law, a similar situation persisted. The Latvian practice was fairly typical, in that the use of minority languages was tolerated to a limited extent before the courts, though Yiddish was not even mentioned.

The system for the protection of minorities was further weakened because some countries exploited it to advance their own foreign policy. The Weimar Republic, for instance, after its admission to the League of Nations in 1925, found it expedient for selfish political reasons to use the Minority Treaties as a convenient tool in a drive to obtain revision of the *status quo* as established by the Peace Treaties. The German Government continually espoused the cause of the German minorities in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Lithuania, and Rumania.

Furthermore, the machinery established by the League of Nations for the protection of Minority rights transformed many complaints into diplomatic disputes between states. For instead of devising a method whereby the individual claimant could present his case directly before an impartial judicial body, the League established a procedure by which, in most cases, some state-member of the League Council had to make the claim of the individual its own in order to assure him a hearing. The East-European states regarded as disloyal,

even traitorous, any individuals or groups among their citizens who dared to make an international issue of their mistreatment by complaining to the League.

This made the Minority guarantees virtually useless for the Jews. Such minorities as the Germans in Poland, enjoying the protection of their mother country, did not hesitate to bring their case before the League. The Jewish minorities, which in most cases had more valid reasons for complaining than the other minorities, hardly dared to lodge any appeals lest they be considered a hostile element by the states in which they lived.

Only two cases concerning the Jews ever came before the League. The question of the Hungarian *numerus clausus* limiting the admission of Jewish students in the colleges and universities was raised in 1926 by the British Board of Deputies and *Alliance Israélite Universelle*. It was settled by Hungary's official repeal of the law, though she continued to apply restrictive measures. The second case, the Bernheim Petition (1933), protested against Nazi racial legislation in Upper Silesia. The petition was based on the special treaty signed at Geneva between Poland and Germany in 1922, whereby the two countries had agreed to insure the protection of their respective minorities. The Nazi Government promised before the League of Nations to respect the Treaty, but did not keep its pledge.

In September, 1934, Colonel Beck, Foreign Minister of Poland, officially denounced before the Assembly of the League the Minorities Treaty signed by his country, and declared that Poland would brook no further interference by the League in the treatment of her minorities. Despite protests by England and France, Poland adhered to her decision.

Thus, the elaborate Minorities system set up by the Peace Conference in 1919 virtually ceased to exist after fifteen years. Jews, who had contributed so much thought and energy in devising these safeguards for the protection of minorities, derived very little benefit from them.

Hitler's rise to power meant the immediate strengthening of reaction throughout Eastern Europe. A year after Hitler became Chancellor of Germany, Dollfuss assumed dictatorial power in Austria, following a bloody massacre of the Socialists in Vienna, the only group who forcibly resisted him. In 1934, Ulmanis seized power in Latvia without meeting any organized resistance. The already existing dictatorships, such as those in Poland and Hungary, became

more reactionary. Nazi doctrine, including vitriolic attacks against the democratic way of life, was eagerly adopted by all these dictatorial regimes seeking an "ideology" to justify their authoritarian rule. Before Hitler's advent to power, dictators seldom opposed the democratic philosophy openly. They themselves pretended to believe in democracy and defended their authoritarian rule and suspension of constitutional government on the grounds of emergency conditions, which allegedly prevailed in their countries.

After 1933, however, they no longer deemed it necessary to justify or apologize for their dictatorial rule. Following the lead of the Nazis, they elevated the "Leadership principle" to the dignity of a new political philosophy and way of life for the twentieth century, in opposition to the way of life of "decadent democracy." By 1939, dictatorial and semi-fascist regimes were well entrenched in the East-European countries, which less than twenty years before had adopted democratic constitutions.

The doctrines and practices of Fascism spread rapidly in Eastern Europe. In Poland the reactionary groups, dissatisfied with the "mild" anti-Semitism of the Endeks and other nationalists, agitated for a full-fledged anti-Semitic dictatorship, Nazi style. The situation was particularly tense in the universities, which in Poland and throughout Eastern Europe were dominated by reactionary and anti-Semitic elements. With government encouragement, the campaign of the Polish nationalist students for the elimination of Jews from the universities culminated in physical assaults upon Jewish students and in the introduction of "ghetto benches." The Jewish students, however, refused to accept a policy of segregation, and in the last two years of Polish independence preferred to remain standing in the classrooms rather than occupy the special seats reserved for them. The situation became so tense that the universities were closed for months at a time and the entire university system in Poland was disrupted as a result of the anti-Semitic excesses.

Before Hitler's assumption of power, the East-European countries did not dare openly to pass discriminatory laws against the Jews. But after his success in Germany, the East European countries proceeded to enact economic legislation openly directed against Jews. The situation became increasingly tense with the increasing Nazi penetration of Europe. The doctrines and practices of racism, both native and imported, spread first in the countries east and south of Germany, where racial tensions were especially acute during the

two years preceding the outbreak of the Second World War.

In Rumania, stringent anti-Jewish laws modeled after the Nuremberg Laws, were enacted by the Goga government in January, 1938, and caused the complete disorganization of the economic life of the country, finally forcing the government to resign. Though this legislation was rescinded, it was subsequently re-enacted.

In Hungary, a law was adopted in May, 1938, requiring all business enterprises with ten or more salaried employees to reduce their number of Jewish employees to the point where they would not exceed 20% of the total. It also provided that no Jews were to be admitted to the medical, legal, and engineering professions until the proportion of Jews in these professions was reduced to 20%. Six months later this law was considered too mild and a new measure limited the number of Jews in private employment and in the liberal and academic professions to 6% of the total.

In Poland, economic boycotts and outright pogroms became the order of the day. The slogan, "A Pole supports a Pole" was strongly urged on the Polish public as a guiding principle. A number of professional groups, such as legal and medical associations, began to exclude Jews.

In some East-European countries laws prohibiting *Shehitah* (the Jewish method of ritual slaughter) were enacted.

JEWES IN GERMANY

As they had done before the First World War, the Jews of Germany in the post-war years continued to identify themselves completely with the political, economic, and cultural life of their country. They participated in all phases of German life as equal citizens and looked upon their status of equality as permanent and indestructible. The establishment of the liberal Weimar Republic strengthened their faith in the future. A certain amount of anti-Semitism existed among the middle classes and the Junkers, but during the early period of the Weimar Republic it did not shake the confidence of the German Jews, for some progress was being made in eliminating the social discrimination that had prevailed against Jews under Kaiser Wilhelm II.

But post-war Germany was a defeated and embittered nation. Many Germans had believed that by establishing the Weimar Re-

public they would be granted better peace terms by the Allies. Propaganda by the Nazis and other reactionaries gave widespread currency to the myth that Germany was not defeated in the field. The national downfall was attributed to a conspiracy of Socialists, liberals, and Jews, who had treacherously stabbed the "invincible" German army in the back. These same elements, it was claimed, had acceded to the terms of the "shameful" Versailles Treaty and were now in control of the Weimar Republic.

Unfortunately, the leaders of the new democratic regime did not sufficiently combat the disseminators of this libel. Not only did they fail to expose those who were really responsible for Germany's defeat, but by retaining monarchists and other reactionaries in key positions, they made it possible for these elements to sabotage the young democracy. The Allies' occupation of the Ruhr (as a result of the non-payment of reparations) served to intensify the German nationalistic spirit—the degenerating rapidly into the violent chauvinism that later destroyed the Republic.

Because of the extreme inflation in Germany in the years following the war, the security of the middle class and the workers was almost completely undermined. In addition, the working class was torn by strife between the Socialists, the chief supporters of the Weimar Republic, and the Communists, who considered the weakening of the Republic a necessary prerequisite for their intended proletarian revolution.

While these distressing conditions prevailed, demagogues and political adventurers found Germany a fertile field for their rabble-rousing. In this endeavor they were supported by some of the military leaders whom the Weimar Republic unwisely permitted to remain in key posts, and by many influential industrialists who disliked the liberal social legislation of the Republic and were frightened by the possible spread of radicalism. The demagogues invariably utilized anti-Semitism as one of their chief weapons in the drive for power, and at the height of the Ruhr crisis they appeared to be gaining much influence. The political atmosphere, in fact, was so poisoned that when Foreign Minister Walter Rathenau, a Jew, was assassinated by a nationalist fanatic in 1924, scarcely any punishment was meted out to those directly or indirectly responsible. After Hitler and General Ludendorff failed miserably in their Munich beer-hall putsch of 1923, they too escaped virtually without punish-

ment. Although Hitler was condemned to five years of imprisonment, he was jailed for only a few months in a fortress, during which time he was given every consideration.

The Nationalist Socialist German Workers Party (*National Sozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei*), known as the Nazi Party, was officially established on February 20, 1920, by "seven nobodies, penniless, lacking everything from a program to a typewriter." By 1923, at the time of Hitler's abortive Munich putsch, the Party already claimed 70,000 members. When Hitler was released from prison in September, 1924, he resumed the leadership of the Party, but for several years could make no appreciable headway. With the spread of the economic Depression of 1929 and the continued split in the labor movement between Socialists and Communists, the Nazi Party grew by leaps and bounds, feeding on the misery and despair of the people.

As the Depression continued and popular discontent mounted, the German bankers and industrialists increased their financial contributions to the Nazi Party, which continued to gain in numerical strength. In the elections of April 10, 1932, Hitler, who ran for the presidency against the aged Marshal Hindenburg, polled 13,400,000 votes against 17,500,000 votes for Hindenburg. Finally, on January 30, 1933, the Nationalists and Conservatives, believing that they would be able to control Hitler, persuaded the senile president to appoint the Nazi Führer as Chancellor and head of a Nazi-Nationalist coalition government.

Once placed in power, Hitler soon eliminated the non-Nazi members from the coalition government, and by staging the Reichstag fire and the subsequent fraudulent election of 1933, he became absolute master of Germany.

The belief that many Jews and non-Jews shared—that Hitler would not carry out the anti-Semitic and other extreme measures of his program once he assumed power—was soon belied by his actions, particularly insofar as the Jews were concerned. Not only did he and his satellites continue to assail the Jews as the enemies of Germany, but a sample of what was in store for them under the Nazi regime was given on April 1, 1933, when a nation-wide anti-Jewish boycott was decreed by the newly established Nazi Government. Throughout the country, Nazi Stormtroopers were stationed in front of Jewish stores with instructions to prevent anyone from entering. The country was covered with millions of posters, calling

upon the sixty-five million "Aryan" Germans to fight against six hundred thousand Jews.

A few days later, on April 7, 1933, the first anti-Jewish law in Germany was enacted, barring all Jews from the civil service, which included the state and local administrations, the courts, all educational institutions, railroads, and all public utilities under state control. Certain exceptions were made for privileged groups such as war veterans. To retain their positions, civil service employees had to produce certificates of "Aryan" ancestry dating back three generations.

Then came the elimination of Jews from the intellectual and artistic life of Germany. Jews were dismissed from the theatres, film industry, newspapers, and all literary and scientific institutions. A decree was issued on December 30, 1933, forbidding the admission of Jews to the bar. In business and commerce, pressure was applied to compel the Jewish firms to sell out to "Aryans" at ruinous prices. Nevertheless, many of them still maintained strong positions in commerce and industry, and formally were still citizens of the country. But not for long.

At the Nuremberg rally of the Nazi Party (September 15, 1935), Hitler proclaimed two new laws aiming at the final elimination of the Jews from the German community. The Jews were deprived of their German citizenship, and to preserve the purity of "German blood and German honor," all marriages and sex relations between Jews and Germans were forbidden. The immediate effect of the Nuremberg legislation was to remove from civil service all remaining Jews, even those in the privileged groups; while the official denial of citizenship to Jews led to their ultimate exclusion from all occupations.

The Nazi Government also decreed the registration of all Jewish holdings of more than 5,000 marks, and Jews departing from the country had to leave most of their possessions behind.

Following the adoption of the Nuremberg Laws, Jewish children were forbidden to attend schools together with "Aryan" children, and the Jewish community was therefore compelled to provide its own facilities for their education. An official "Research Department of the Jewish Question" was set up by the Nazi Government to interpret German history in the light of Nazi racial doctrine. In many localities the Jews were altogether eliminated, and the Nazis in these communities prided themselves on the fact that they had be-

come *Judenrein* (free of Jews). In Austria, which was occupied by the Nazis in March, 1938, Aryanization was accomplished rapidly and with drastic results.

Nazi brutality was unleashed in the pogroms that occurred throughout the country after the assassination of the third secretary of the German embassy in Paris by a seventeen-year-old Jewish youth, Herschel Grynszpan. For fourteen hours on November 10–11, 1938, five hundred synagogues throughout Germany and Austria were burned and desecrated, and many Jews beaten and injured; hundreds of millions of marks' worth of Jewish property was looted and destroyed. When the government finally called off these "spontaneous manifestations," Göring proceeded to make the assassination profitable for the Nazis. Not only did he order the Jews to repair all the damage wrought by the rioters, but he levied a fine of one billion marks on the entire Jewish community.

These events stirred the conscience of the democratic world. Despite the thousands of protests sent by religious, cultural, and political bodies from practically all countries, the Nazi Government continued its very methodical destruction of the Jewish community in Germany. In the international arena Hitler, winning one bloodless victory after another, knew that the European democracies, which only two months before in September, 1938, had capitulated to him in Munich, would not take any retaliatory measures against his mistreatment of the Jews.

In the years immediately following the First World War, the influx into Germany of many Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe led to the growth of a new Jewish group alongside the old Jewish community that had been there for centuries. The two differed from each other in many respects. While the Jews of long residence in Germany were well integrated into German life, the new immigrants were not. Many of these East-European newcomers were nationalistically inclined and favored the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine. The majority of the German Jews, though greatly interested in their religious, philanthropic, and communal institutions, opposed all Jewish nationalist ideas as prejudicial to their status as citizens of Germany. They looked with misgiving and apprehension upon the new arrivals.

There was a tendency among some German Jews for a time to put the blame for Hitler's anti-Semitism on the East-European Jews; but Hitler did not make any fine distinctions between the native

Jewish residents and the newcomers. His anti-Jewish laws were directed equally against all Jews, regardless of origin.

In January, 1938, three years after the enactment of the Nuremberg Laws, the Berlin Jewish community leader, Dr. Heinrich Stahl, stated bluntly: "To those among our youth who have not yet decided to emigrate, I say, there is no future for the Jews in this country. Whatever changes may be forthcoming for us will probably not be for the better." The Jews who tried to save themselves emigrated primarily to overseas countries and Western Europe. The most important havens of refuge were the U. S. A. and Palestine. Throughout Germany schools and institutions were established to train young Jews for emigration to Palestine. When the Second World War broke out in September, 1939, the majority of the young Jews of Germany had already left the country. Most of those who remained were the elderly people unable to emigrate. The German Jewish community, one of the most cultured and influential in the world, was greatly diminished and the Jews who remained were without any rights and prospects for the future.

JEWES IN THE SOVIET UNION

The March, 1917, democratic revolution in Russia, sometimes referred to as the Kerensky Revolution, brought complete equality to the Jews, and the Jews took full advantage of their new status not only to occupy their rightful place as equal citizens, but also to reorganize their communal life on an autonomous basis. They held democratic elections for both local and national representation as a national minority. When the Bolsheviks seized power in November, 1917, the new Soviet regime (the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) reasserted the equality of all its peoples and accorded group-recognition to Jews as one of the many nationalities of the Soviet Union. Anti-Semitism was officially outlawed.

From the outset, the new regime was confronted with many difficulties. By insisting upon an immediate peace with Germany and by overthrowing the capitalist system in Russia, the Bolshevik rulers incurred the animosity of the Allied governments. The Allied Powers proceeded to support the monarchists and counter-revolutionary White Guards in Russia in their attempt to crush the new Communist order. The lengthy civil war thus precipitated, was accompanied by brutal anti-Jewish pogroms.

Following the establishment of peace in 1919, the Jews in the Soviet Union tried desperately to adjust themselves to the new socialist economy of Bolshevism. For the Jews in Russia, as elsewhere, were largely concentrated in middle-class and artisan occupations, which had no place in the new Communist set-up. They were compelled to become industrial or agricultural workers, a difficult adjustment for a middle-class group to make, or else seek employment in the government. Great numbers of Jews who possessed the proper professional qualifications did find places in the civil services. Many others turned to industry. Still others entered agriculture and created a number of Jewish agricultural settlements and collective farms. In this they received the encouragement of the Soviet Government, as well as temporary aid from foreign Jewish organizations, especially the American Agro-Joint and the Jewish Colonization Association.

The first attempts to settle on the soil were made by the Jewish population in White Russia, where by 1931, 47,000 persons had settled on the land. More important were the colonization efforts in the Ukraine where Jewish agricultural colonies had existed even before the First World War. About a hundred thousand Jews settled there in areas later organized into four Jewish autonomous regions. For several years efforts were also made to establish a territorial settlement in the Crimea, where fifty collective Jewish villages were organized in 1935 into the Jewish autonomous region, Larindorf.

Even greater attention was focused on Biro-Bidjan in the Far East, which the Soviet Government opened in 1928 as a territory for Jews, and which in 1934 was made a Jewish autonomous region. Though the government formulated elaborate plans for its settlement, and many hopes were aroused by this project, immigration to Biro-Bidjan fell far below expectations. In 1938 the population was about 60,000, of which 20,000 were Jews, inhabiting sixty-eight farm collectives. One of its official languages was Yiddish.

The first Five Year Plan to industrialize the Soviet country, instituted in 1928, opened new vistas to the many declassed Jews who joined in the industrial transformation of Russia by serving as workers, mechanics, technicians, engineers, and factory managers. Jewish adjustment to the new economy was rapid. It was estimated that in 1932, at the completion of the first Five Year Plan, about 320,000 Jews had been drawn into industrial projects. In addition, more

than 200,000 artisans and craftsmen were absorbed by state-controlled enterprises. By 1932, only 200,000 were listed by the Soviets as "economically unproductive." Thereafter the number further decreased, so that by 1939 only a very small number of Jews of the older generation still remained in occupations considered "unproductive." The overwhelming majority of Jews had already found their place in government service, in the liberal professions, in agriculture, and in industry.

The Soviet Government's attempt to normalize the status of the Jews in the U.S.S.R. did not stop with efforts for their vocational readjustment. Before the Bolshevik revolution, communist theory had maintained that Jews should become absorbed within the surrounding majority population. But with the success of the revolution, communist theory changed. On taking over the reins of government, the Bolshevik leadership, confronted with the existence of a great many nationalities in the Soviet Union, decided to recognize all nationalities, including the Jewish nationality; this, despite protests lodged by some Jewish Communists who preferred to see Jewish life disappear. Yiddish was recognized as the major national language of the Jews. (Several Jewish dialects in Asia and the Caucasus were also recognized.)

The recognition of Jews as a nationality found expression in several ways: Five autonomous Jewish regions were established in the Ukraine and the Crimea; Yiddish was recognized as one of the four official languages in the Republic of White Russia where Jews constituted a sizeable proportion of the population; a chain of schools with Yiddish as the language of instruction, State theaters, and cultural institutions of all kinds were established; and courts in Jewish population centers were held in Yiddish. The climax of this policy came with the establishment of Biro-Bidjan which, according to President Kalinin, had been motivated by the desire of the Bolsheviks to perpetuate Soviet Jewish culture and national life as a counter-action to the rapidity of Jewish assimilation in the Soviet Union.

In Moscow and Leningrad, the Russification of Jews was progressing rapidly despite the avowed policy of the Soviet regime to encourage minority cultures to become "national in form and socialist in content." Many Jews, who until 1917 were confined to the Pale of Settlement, began to migrate eastward, especially to the large cities. Moscow, which before the war had a Jewish population of 5,000,

became one of the great Jewish communities in the world, with a Jewish population of nearly 300,000. Leningrad also became a Jewish center with a Jewish population of over 100,000.

In addition to migration, another factor making for assimilation was the official anti-religious policy of the Soviet Government. Though this policy was applied to all religions in the Soviet Union, the Jewish section of the Communist Party, the *Yevseksia*, was rabid against the Jewish religion. Through the instrument of the *Yevseksia*, the Soviet regime even banned publications in Hebrew as well as the classroom teaching of this language to children under eighteen. Hebrew, the language of the Bible, was considered a prop for religion, and one of the main spiritual ingredients of the Jewish national-Renaissance. It was identified with the banned Zionist movement, and looked upon as an instrument of British Imperialism. Some Jewish Communists disparaged the secular Yiddish culture, which had been evolved in Eastern Europe before the revolution, as insufficiently proletarian and markedly nationalistic.

PALESTINE

The Balfour Declaration, issued on November 2, 1917, laid the legal foundation for the building of the Jewish National Home in Palestine.¹ Zionists and those statesmen who aided in the promulgation of the Balfour Declaration (Lloyd George, Winston Churchill, Lord Balfour, and President Wilson) envisioned a Jewish State or Commonwealth following the attainment of a Jewish majority. But Arab disturbances, Jewish unpreparedness to promote a mass colonization program, the policy of restriction of Jewish immigration introduced at an early stage by the Palestine regime, the lack of appreciation of the country's possibilities, and the hostility to Zionism on the part of many influential and affluent Jews, resulted in a series of setbacks to Zionist aspirations.

Thus, the Churchill White Paper of 1922 declared that His Majesty's Government "do not contemplate that Palestine as a whole should be converted into a Jewish National Home, but that such a Home should be founded in Palestine." Transjordan was thereupon excluded from the terms of the Palestine Mandate.

¹ In April, 1920, at a conference in San Remo, Italy, the Supreme Council of the Allied Nations decided to grant England the mandate over Palestine, and in July, 1922, this mandate was affirmed by the Council of the League of Nations.

In subsequent years frequent Commission Reports and White Papers were issued, the net result of which was to whittle down the pledge of the Balfour Declaration. The Mandate was deliberately interpreted so as to leave the Jews in a minority in Palestine; and the White Paper Policy of 1939 has for the time being frozen the *Yishuv* (Jewish settlement) in that country to little more than its present population.

A more detailed treatment of Palestine during the period between the two World Wars will be given in Chapter Five.

In surveying briefly the position of the Jews of Europe during the two decades between wars, we have seen how the failure of the Paris Peace Conference to lay effective foundations for a lasting peace and the spread of an economic depression of world-wide proportions contributed to the outbreak of a Second World War in one generation.

Economic insecurity experienced by masses of people led to the rise of Fascism and an intensification of anti-Semitism. The Nazis made of anti-Semitism a state policy and proceeded methodically to apply measures leading to the extermination of Jews in the countries under their control. Other minority groups were also affected by the spread of fascist rule, but the Jews suffered most since they were signaled out as a scapegoat by the ruling powers. Unchecked fascist aggression strengthened fascist rule, and before long, the Jews of most of Europe were trapped. Relatively few Jews managed to escape by finding refuge in countries overseas, including Palestine.

The year preceding World War II witnessed the progressive abandonment by the democracies of moral values in international relations. Their policy of appeasing the Nazi Axis proved detrimental to the just discharge of their international obligations with regard to Palestine; while for the Jewish population on the European continent it was a tragic failure.

IV

THE POSITION OF THE JEWS IN THE POST-WAR WORLD

The world rests on three things:
on justice, on truth and on peace.
—Talmud, Pirke Aboth, I, 18

AT THE Casablanca conference between President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill in January, 1943, and later at the Moscow three-power conference of Great Britain, the United States, and Soviet Russia, it was agreed that there would be no peace terms short of "unconditional surrender." The leaders of the United Nations committed themselves at these meetings to total military victory.

But total victory implies more than vanquishing the foe on the battlefield. Total victory implies also the ability to rehabilitate the enslaved peoples and to reconstruct a devastated world on new and lasting democratic foundations. This larger task involves at least as much planning and common agreement among the United Nations as does the waging of a successful war. It is not an easy task. Its success depends upon the readiness and willingness of the United Nations to work together. And the United Nations, it must be borne in mind, are a coalition of forty national entities representing different regimes and different ways of life.

The Soviet Union, a communist regime operating under a collectivist economy, is a member of the United Nations; so are the United States, Great Britain, and the British Dominions, all of them political democracies with capitalist economies. Among the United Nations are several Latin American countries with semi-dictatorial regimes. And some of the Governments-in-exile include elements known to have anti-democratic attitudes.

All these are partners in the United Nations. Advance agreement among them with regard to the future world order, undoubtedly a delicate and difficult matter, appears more certain of realization in view of the vast area of agreement that the Big Three have found in common at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference.

For more than a century great wars have led to great hopes for a system of permanent peace. So it was when Napoleon's Empire was overthrown in 1815; so again in the First World War, when President Wilson proposed the formation of a League of Nations. And so it is today: even before victory is won, plain people everywhere have hoped that the peace, when it comes, will be just and lasting.

The Government of the United States has recognized from the outset of this war that a system of permanent peace must be built, and has steadfastly maintained that this can be accomplished only through genuine international cooperation. Slowly but soundly the foundations of that system are being laid.

There are several basic documents that state the peace aims of the United Nations. On January 6, 1941, President Roosevelt in his message to the Congress outlined the guiding principles of the post-war policy of the United States, principles which were later accepted by the United Nations. In this message, universally known as the "Four Freedoms," President Roosevelt stated that the war aims of the democracies rested on the Four Freedoms, namely, freedom of speech and expression; freedom of religious worship; freedom from want, to be achieved by world-wide economic understandings; and freedom from fear, to be achieved by the reduction of armaments and the prevention of acts of aggression.

These principles were reiterated by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill in the declaration known as the "Atlantic Charter," dated August 14, 1941. The heads of the two democracies announced that their countries seek no territorial or other aggrandizement and that no territorial changes will be made "that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned." They stressed the right of all peoples to choose their own form of government and expressed the wish that sovereign rights and self-government be restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them. In point 4 they promised "to further the enjoyment of all states" by granting them access on equal terms to the trade and raw materials of the world. They expressed the hope "to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field

with the object of securing for all, improved labor standards, economic advancement and social security." They reasserted the principles of freedom from fear and want in the establishment of a secure peace. Finally, they looked forward to the abandonment of the use of force by all nations through the establishment of a permanent system of general security, the disarmament of some nations, and the reduction in armaments by all nations.

On January 1, 1942, twenty-six United Nations subscribed to a declaration in which they pledged acceptance of the principles of the Atlantic Charter and promised not to make a separate peace with the enemies. Since then, fourteen additional nations have subscribed to this declaration.

After the Atlantic Charter came the declaration signed at Moscow on October 20, 1943. There four nations—the United States, Great Britain, Soviet Russia, and China—renewed their determination to defeat their enemies by joint action. Again they pledged cooperation with one another to establish at the earliest practicable date, with other anti-war states, an effective international organization to maintain peace and security. Further decisive steps along the road to united Allied action were taken in November, 1943, at the Cairo Conference, when President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill met with Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, and several days later at the conference at Teheran, where Roosevelt and Churchill conferred with Marshal Josef Stalin. At Teheran, the three Allies fighting in Europe reached complete agreement on military plans for winning the war and made plain their determination to work together in the period of peace. This Allied coalition rests on broad foundations of common interests and common aspirations.

All these official statements point to the direction in which solutions are to be sought. The United Nations have not yet said their final word on peace aims. Varying interpretations of their pronouncements are therefore possible. And the declarations are sufficiently vague to permit different interpretations by different members of the coalition. The more than thirty knotty boundary questions that exist cannot be irrevocably decided while fighting is in progress, and yet lack of clarification creates disunity and distrust. Point One of the Atlantic Charter, stating that no country should seek "aggrandizement, territorial or other," is interpreted differently by the Soviet Union and by the Polish Government-in-exile. As for the second point, that no territorial changes will take place contrary

to the freely expressed desires of the peoples concerned, Russia claims that the former Polish territories incorporated in the U.S.S.R., following Germany's attack on Poland, are an integral part of the Soviet Union, as confirmed by a plebiscite of the people. Poland, on the other hand, denies the validity of what it terms a forced territorial annexation based on a treaty with Germany and on a plebiscite conducted under Russian military occupation.

The fate of the Baltic states of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, incorporated by the Soviet Union, under circumstances democratic public opinion generally considers contrary to true self-determination, is another question left unanswered by the declarations of the United Nations, especially the Atlantic Charter, which specifically proclaims respect for the right of peoples to choose their own form of government and the wish "to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them." Though the third point in the Atlantic Charter concerning the right of the people to choose the form of government under which they will live, might imply the possible future toleration of fascist rule, if some nations should prefer it, the United Nations have ruled out any such interpretation. They have outlawed fascist governments in the post-war world as inimical to the establishment of a lasting peace.

POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVES AFTER THE WAR

In America, despite the Atlantic Charter and President Roosevelt's Four Freedoms, there are many individuals and interests who look forward to a return of the state of affairs that prevailed before the war. Expecting the United States to revert to a policy of isolation from European affairs, as was true before World War II, they hope for control of Congress by isolationists. There are some who desire an "American Century" of imperialism, with the rest of the Western Hemisphere serving as the happy hunting ground for cheap labor, raw materials, and potential markets; and there are others who would even like to see the United States embark on a policy of world-wide imperialism.

Others would include the British Empire in their imperialist scheme of things. The world, they believe, should be dominated by an Anglo-Saxon alliance composed of the United States and the British Empire, both of which are united by a common language

and a common way of life. This alliance would organize the world and guarantee the peace, if necessary by force of arms and by effective control of the major economic resources of the globe. The United States would dominate the Western Hemisphere, Western Asia, and Australia, while the British Empire would rule Europe, East Asia, and Africa.

Some advocates of a return-to-power-politics point out that an Anglo-Saxon alliance would be too weak to rule the globe. The United States and the British Empire alone would be unable to secure a lasting peace throughout the world. According to this view, such a peace could be imposed only by the four major victorious powers, the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and China, each dominating one of the four spheres of influence into which the world would be divided. The United States would be the major controlling power in the Western Hemisphere and the Pacific; Great Britain would control Western Europe, Africa, and the Mediterranean; the Soviet Union would rule Eastern and Central Europe and Asia; and China would become the dominant power in Western and Central Asia.

The future of the smaller nations appears uncertain under such a system. This does not necessarily imply that the smaller states would cease to exist. Advocates of this position maintain that although all states are equal in status, they are not equal in power and consequently their duties must vary; the powers who have the greatest responsibility should have the decisive voice in actions taken in the general interest. To a certain extent, this plan is reminiscent of the European system of great power alliances, practiced so extensively in previous centuries.

As against the advocates of American isolationism or of American imperialism, there are those who maintain that unless the United States plays a positive role in shaping the post-war world, Europe will again be divided into a multitude of small states, each fiercely jealous of its own interests. The confusion attending the occupation of North Africa and Italy foreshadows the difficulties that will arise in a liberated Europe.

Should the Soviet Union perform the dominant role in freeing Europe from Nazi rule, she may support communist regimes in the liberated countries. In fact, a defeated Germany may well prove ripe for Communism. If some form of communist or Soviet-influenced socialist regime is introduced into post-war Germany, the

smaller countries lying between Russia and Germany will find themselves in an untenable position unless they too submit to Soviet influence. If Communism expands beyond the borders of the U.S.S.R., isolationist tendencies in the United States and other countries may be greatly strengthened and isolationist governments elected to power. Such a development, leading to world isolationism, would set the stage for a third World War.

These melancholy speculations, which isolationists have been quick to exploit in their propaganda, represent only one side of the picture. There is another and brighter side—the possibility of co-operation between the Soviet Union and the democratic countries. Marshal Stalin, in an address delivered November 7, 1943, on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution, expressed confidence in the “progressive *rapprochement* of the U.S.S.R., Great Britain, and America.” Prime Minister Churchill also stated (March 21, 1943) that “the cordial and concerted agreement and participation” of Great Britain, the United States, and Russia are prerequisites to the stability of Europe. The Moscow, Cairo, and Teheran conferences stressed present cooperation among the “big Four” as the basis for cooperation of all the United Nations, large and small, in organizing the new world order. Russia has further manifested her intention to collaborate with the Western Powers by being represented on the Allied Advisory Council (concerning Italian affairs) and on the Three-Power European Advisory Commission in London.

Russia's foreign policy indicates a desire to dispel Europe's fear of either Communist or Russian-inspired domination. Consonant with its acceptance of all the United Nations Declarations, the Soviet government issued a declaration on April 2, 1944, that it does not seek any Rumanian territory (that is, beyond Bessarabia, which Russia regards as her own), and that it does not propose to alter the existing social structure of Rumania. From this, it is clear that Russia is thinking in terms of immediate and long-term collaboration with her allies. For a long time after the war, the Soviet Union will need economic assistance in repairing the widespread damage wrought on her territory in the course of the war. Many of her best agricultural and industrial regions have been completely devastated. It is to the Western nations that she will turn for aid in rebuilding her sorely tried economy. With good will on both sides it should not be impossible to arrive at a satisfactory agreement.

If at the end of the war isolationism once more gain the upper hand in the United States, Europe may conceivably fall victim to reactionary forces who will be emboldened by America's default. If this happens, the remaining Jews of continental Europe will again be subjected to the kind of economic and social discrimination they suffered between the two World Wars, particularly after the rise of Hitler. Their position in Europe may remain tragic unless a deliberate effort is made to re-educate the young people of Europe and to cleanse their minds of the anti-Semitic poison spread by Nazi propaganda.

The re-establishment of a nationalistic status quo ante in Europe may result in the continued oppression of the Jews, particularly in the economic field; for in many parts of the Continent there are individuals who have benefited directly from the expropriation of Jewish property and positions. While the Germans took the best jobs for themselves, they gave a great many other formerly Jewish-held positions to nationals of the local population. In this way, the Nazis established a powerful vested-interest class in Europe, which for selfish reasons will seek to perpetuate the doctrines and policies of Hitlerite anti-Semitism.¹ And so, if the status quo ante is established after this war, no brake on anti-Semitic tendencies can be expected. Indeed, anti-Semitism may become further intensified, if Europe is again ruled by reactionary governments.

On the other hand, if communist regimes are established in parts of Europe, especially in the eastern regions, the Jews will receive equal status politically and economically, as in the Soviet Union. It is quite likely that under a Soviet regime, the Jews in these countries, as in the case in the U.S.S.R., would gradually lose their group distinctiveness unless the Soviet Union modified its stand against religion, the Hebrew language, and the contacts of Jews in the U.S.S.R. with Jewish communities abroad. There is, however, increasing evidence that Russia is seeking to dispel distrust and dislike of her attitude towards religion and religious institutions. There has been increased contact between the Jewish community of Soviet Russia and the Jews of other countries, through the activities of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee, whose conference in Moscow in April, 1944, was attended by Jewish writers, guerrilla leaders, old-time Communists, and rabbis and members of synagogue councils. With the German invasion of Russia, Russian Jewry for the first time since the Bolshevik revolution was able to acknowledge openly

¹ See p. 171.

the ties linking the Jews of Russia to Jewish communities abroad. The restoration of the Patriarchate of the Orthodox Church to its former prominence has been accompanied by the establishment of a Special Bureau for Jewish Religious Affairs, signifying an almost complete reversal in Soviet Russia's former espousal of militant atheism.

But the best hope for Jews, as for all mankind, lies in a post-war world based on international guarantees and mutual understanding. If the future of Europe is built on cooperation among the United Nations, Jewish individual and group rights will be adequately protected. Such collaboration will be a vital factor in preventing a renewal of Fascism and anti-Semitism, and in safeguarding the position of the Jews throughout the world.

PROBLEMS OF THE TRANSITION PERIOD ¹

Most people now believe that a considerable period of time, perhaps several years, will have to elapse between the cessation of military hostilities and the final peace settlement. The situation will probably be unlike that following the First World War, when the Peace Conference worked hurriedly and the peace treaties were signed within a comparatively short period after the Armistice. Following this war a longer time must be allowed in order that the bitterness and hatreds engendered by the conflict may subside.

During this transition period, the pattern of the permanent world order will be fashioned. The situation of Jews in the post-war world will depend to a great extent on the measures taken by the United Nations during this crucial interval. Particularly important in this connection is an understanding among the U. S. A., Great Britain, and the Soviet Union concerning the political boundaries and transitional regimes to be established in Eastern and Central Europe. Agreements on these matters, if made sufficiently in advance, will prevent the chaos and social upheaval that might otherwise follow the cessation of combat. After the First World War there were anti-Jewish riots and pogroms in the Ukraine, Poland, Rumania, and Hungary. Similar occurrences may be expected at the end of this war unless special preventive efforts are made by the United Nations, and sufficiently in advance. Drastic punishment of all anti-Semitic activity is, of course, an essential first step in this direction.

¹ See chapter VI, page 157 ff.

At the end of hostilities, Jews will have to be liberated from the ghettos and concentration camps and given the opportunity to return to their former residences or to emigrate to other lands. This task implies special planning during the transition period for emigration, and the easing of immigration restrictions in overseas countries, including Palestine.

Fairness must also be assured in the allocation and dispensation of relief, which should be distributed on the basis of need. As a consequence of drastically reduced food rations, the Jewish population has suffered from acute undernourishment; it will therefore require special consideration. In feeding Jews, due consideration must also be given by the authorities to the dietary requirements of the Jewish religion.

All Hitlerite racial legislation will have to be abolished and full economic and political equality restored to Jews, as to all other victims of Nazism. The economic damages of the Nazis' special policy of "Aryanization," which confiscated Jewish properties and Jewish funds, will have to be repaired. What was expropriated must be restored. But the restoration will present many difficult problems. The Germans have not been the sole beneficiaries of the confiscation of Jewish property and the elimination of Jews from economic life. Many Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Dutchmen, Hungarians, Frenchmen, and others have willingly, or in some instances unwillingly, taken over Jewish properties or economic positions. The problem of restoration, therefore, is not solely one of eliminating the Germans from pre-empted positions. In some regions it may have a vital bearing on Jewish-Christian relations; and its successful solution will depend both on the decisions of the United Nations and the good-will of the governments of the countries involved.

The future of the individual rights of the Jews, as well as of their group rights, will likewise depend largely upon the steps undertaken by the United Nations. We know from the example of North Africa that restoration of individual rights does not necessarily follow immediately upon the occupation by the United Nations of an enemy-controlled country. In North Africa, the granting of equal rights to Jews was found to be contingent on a number of local political factors. Difficulties have similarly been encountered when the countries of Eastern Europe were liberated. The fear of unrest and of unduly disturbing local conditions has been used as excuses for postponing the restoration of equal rights to Jews. If the United Na-

tions are guided by such a policy, the Jews of Eastern Europe will find it difficult indeed to integrate themselves once again into the economic and social life of their countries; for only through the direct application of democratic principles by the United Nations can Jews in that region hope to start life anew.

The problem of Palestine, too, should be eased during the transition period by complete agreement among the United Nations, especially the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union.

THE NEED TO CURTAIL NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY

Though we have considered some of the problems of the transition period, most thought on the post-war world is, naturally, directed toward the establishment of a permanent world order. Practically all the plans and planners agree on one fundamental—that the economic interdependence of all nations and the need for world peace make obsolete the traditional concept of unlimited national sovereignty.

There are two aspects of the concept of national sovereignty—one domestic, the other foreign. In domestic matters a state exercises complete authority and coercive power over its citizens. In foreign affairs a state considers itself fully independent in regard to international relations and recognizes no superior authority. Most plans for a stable post-war international order assume that national sovereignty will have to be curtailed in both domestic and foreign relations.

These two aspects cannot, in fact, be separated. The Nazi persecution of the Jews within Germany was at one time viewed by many as a purely domestic German affair. The Civil War in Spain was similarly regarded as a wholly internal affair of Spaniards. Today, it is clear that these supposedly “domestic” events caused powerful world-wide repercussions. Jewish and other anti-Nazi refugees from Germany and Republican refugees from Spain became an international problem. Jews, in particular, were victims of the policy of state sovereignty—a policy that prevented persecuted victims from seeking and obtaining the redress of wrongs committed by sovereign states. Occasional humanitarian interventions by foreign governments in protest against the oppression of racial and religious minorities accomplished nothing.

But the domestic policy of a nation may have an even more direct bearing on its foreign relations. The spirit of militarism and “racial”

violence fostered in any one country (as in the instance of Germany in our own time) inevitably leads to a spirit of aggression towards other countries, culminating in war. Nazi anti-Semitism was in reality the opening phase of the present war for world domination.

For a state to possess absolute sovereignty in the conduct of its foreign affairs means that it considers itself the final judge in any dispute that it may have with another state as regards boundaries, tariffs, and the like, and that it will not hesitate to launch an outright attack on the independence or territorial integrity of other states. Nazi Germany's repeated aggressions against Czechoslovakia in 1938; against Poland in 1939, which precipitated the Second World War; against Norway, Holland, France, and Belgium in 1940; and against Soviet Russia in 1941;—all in violation of previously assumed obligations and treaties—are examples of a nation's exercise of unlimited sovereignty in foreign affairs.

Unfortunately, there is no authoritative international body to judge or arbitrate disputes impartially, nor is there an authority superior to that of the individual sovereign states, which can enforce its decision in international disputes. What is known as International Law did attempt to establish rules in certain areas of international relations, for example, the war-time protection of prisoners, wounded, and non-combatants, the regulation of commerce and communications such as postal services, and the "humanization of war" through the International Red Cross. These rules, however, were purely voluntary in character, since no binding legal rule could be imposed on "sovereign" states without their consent.

The voluntary character of these rules has been emphasized by various writers on international law, who have pointed out that a state has the right to violate international legal rules when its vital interests are at stake. The League of Nations and the World Court attempted to limit the national sovereignty of states, but despite their efforts, the fundamental practice remained that each state was free to settle its disputes by resorting to the threat or use of force. Might, not right, governed relations between nations; the strong states easily imposed their will on the less powerful ones, if necessary by outright conquest.

The League of Nations failed to solve this problem of curtailing the national sovereignty of states. What were the reasons for its failure?

(1) The League of Nations was not really a world union of nations possessing over-all political authority superior to the authority of any of its constituent nations. The national sovereignty of the individual members of the League remained fundamentally unimpaired. The League did not have at its disposal any international force to compel recalcitrant members to abide by its decisions or those of the Permanent Court of International Justice. In fact, every important decision by the League had to be approved *unanimously* by the member states! Furthermore, each member state of the League was free to resign whenever and for whatever reason it chose. Germany, Japan, and Italy each quit the League at expedient moments, and the League was powerless to prevent their defection.

(2) The League of Nations was not sufficiently concerned with certain political causes of war, such as overpopulation, distribution of raw materials, and tariffs.

(3) The League of Nations Covenant provided that a violator of the Covenant "shall ipso facto be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other members of the League." These other member nations, according to the Covenant, were then to resort to penalties or "sanctions." They were duty-bound to impose an embargo on all relations (especially economic relations) with the violating state, and were to recommend additional measures of a military nature. However, when Japan invaded Manchuria in 1931, the League merely issued a condemnatory resolution. When Mussolini invaded Ethiopia in 1935, the members of the League failed to do their duty in carrying through the sanctions imposed upon Italy. Such lack of decisive action discredited the League.

(4) The hostility of the U.S.S.R. to the League, which ceased only with Hitler's advent to power (Russia joined the League in 1934), was a major source of weakness. For years Russia looked upon the League as a union of capitalist states interested primarily in preserving the Versailles system.

(5) The failure of the United States to join the League fatally weakened its influence from the very beginning. The treaty of mutual guarantees, according to which the United States and Great Britain guaranteed the security of France against aggression was thus automatically rescinded and the policy of "balance of power" revived in Europe.

PROPOSED PLANS FOR POST-WAR WORLD ORGANIZATION

Many post-war planners contend that any future world organization is doomed unless it overcomes the basic deficiencies of the League of Nations. Under the League, the essential sovereignty of the member states remained intact, and individuals owed loyalty to their own state exclusively; there was no overriding central world authority with power to enforce its decisions in the interest of all the states. That any new world organization, if it is to function effectively, must not be thus handicapped, was well understood by the conferring powers at Dumbarton Oaks, for their tentative plan for a world organization contains the provision that the new organization could not only deal with acts of aggression or war but would also have powers to act when threats of war or breaches of the peace occur.

Many plans for a world organization have been proposed. They may be classified as belonging to one of the following types:

(1) The World Federation, embracing all the states of the world, bound by a common government with comprehensive powers and authority.

(2) The continental or regional type of federation, founded on the close association of countries located in the same continent or region. Proponents of a plan of this type assume that in the present stage of world development no world-wide all-embracing organization could succeed.

(3) The ideological federation, based on the association of countries having the same type of government.

(4) A revived League of Nations.

The advocates of a World Federation point to the vital role that such an organization could play in helping to protect the rights of minorities. If they felt that their rights were being violated, minorities or their individual members could appeal to the World Federation. The protection of minorities thus would no longer be "an internal problem" of a single state but would become the primary concern of the community of nations. The World Federation would also guarantee the free cultural development of all minorities. It would defend the principle of cultural diversity against the forcible submersion of minority cultures under the majority cultures.

Other post-war planners, while admitting the need for curtailing national sovereignty, hold that a single World Federation is not

feasible at present. The world, they say, is too big and its component elements are too diversified for any single federation. They advocate instead a number of independent federations, based either on a regional or on a continental community of interest, whose purposes would conform to those of a general international organization.

To some post-war planners, even a continental or ideological federation appears to be too ambitious a step and, as such, one that is doomed to failure. They maintain that a more practical start for establishing a world organization could be made through regional federations of states that are geographically close. Regions, they hold, have special problems of their own as well as a community of interests, and can therefore easily unite. Among the regional federations proposed are: a West-European Federation, to include Britain, France, Belgium, and the Netherlands, and a Central-European Federation, to include Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary. Another proposal envisages Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the Balkan countries as forming a Central-European regional bloc between Germany and the U.S.S.R. Still another proposal calls for a federation of the states bordering on the Danube, namely Austria, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Rumania, and Bulgaria. There is also a plan to organize a Scandinavian-Baltic bloc, composed of Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia. A frequently discussed plan is a federation of the Balkan states. There is no dearth of regional plans.

Regional planning, unlike the other more ambitious federative proposals, has reached a practical stage. Several agreements have already been concluded between leaders of East and Central-European Governments-in-exile, calling for close post-war economic and political cooperation.

Of late, however, regional European plans have suffered setbacks because of the attitude of the U.S.S.R., which seems to view recent East or Central-European regional federation schemes as possible defensive blocs directed against her. Naturally, no federation created with a view to opposing the Soviet Union will bring peace to the European continent. To date the U.S.S.R. has made no official or implicit statement on the subject of European regional federations.

The old League of Nations is at present dormant, having never been officially dissolved. In spite of its failure, there are those who believe that the principles upon which the League was based are essentially sound, and that therefore a new or rejuvenated League

would be the most effective instrument for the maintenance of world peace. The "League of Nations Union," an organization existing in many countries of the world, claims that the machinery of the League is fundamentally sound because the nations of the world are not yet prepared to surrender a great part of their national sovereignty. Proposals for a close world federation, therefore, appear to them as impractical at the present time. They view regional federation plans as unsatisfactory because the proposed ideological or geographical federations may eventually develop into rival, and even hostile, blocs resulting in far-flung inter-continental or inter-regional conflicts.

On April 18, 1944, Prime Minister Churchill expressed the hope that something might be salvaged out of the League of Nations, when he declared that "if the League had been properly backed up, it would have been successful." Proponents of this point of view contend that the deficiencies of the old League could be remedied by making the new League universal, with the power to arrive at decisions by majority vote rather than by unanimity, as was formerly required. The new League, furthermore, would be given power to enforce its decisions by effective military and economic sanctions against would-be aggressors. Realizing the need for closer collaboration among states within certain geographical areas, the proponents of a new League see no incompatibility between the League system and the formation of certain regional federations, provided those federations are part of the League and abide by the rules and principles established by the parent body.

FEDERATIVE PLANS AND THE JEWS

The League of Nations affected the life of Jews in two important ways—in its concern with the treatment of minorities in Eastern Europe and in its direct responsibility for supervising the Palestine Mandate. It did not live up to expectations in either respect. Its cumbersome machinery for dealing with complaints and its inability to enforce its decisions accounted for its failure to protect adequately those minorities that were discriminated against by sovereign states.

The League of Nations approved the Balfour Declaration and conferred upon Britain the mandate for Palestine. But British policy in Palestine, which the League proved too weak to alter, has

hardly proved satisfactory for the Jews. The League did serve, however, as a brake upon the British Government. The Permanent Mandates Commission of the League repeatedly criticized the British administration of the Mandate and unequivocally denounced the White Paper of 1939, which restricted further immigration into Palestine in violation of both the letter and spirit of the Mandate.

In spite of its weaknesses and failures, the League of Nations did create important precedents in the realm of international administration and control. Its efforts for the protection of minorities, however feeble, implied a limitation of the national sovereignty of the East-European states—a truly new concept in international law. The League proved that minority protection by some international body is both possible and feasible—provided that it is extended to minorities everywhere and that the system for lodging complaints and redressing grievances is not made too cumbersome for individual and group complainants. The effectual protection of minorities could be achieved by setting up appropriate international machinery for the protection of minorities along judicial rather than diplomatic lines, with full power to enforce decisions.

Federative plans generally appeal to Jews. The world order these plans envisage recalls the prophetic ideal of world brotherhood, so deeply ingrained in Judaism.

Although the position of Jews in any of the proposed federative systems has received scant attention from post-war planners, there can be little doubt that in a federative world order based on equality and democracy, Jewish disabilities would cease to exist. It is commonly believed that the larger the political and economic unit, the better it is for minorities, especially the Jews. Proof that Jewish minorities, on the whole, have received better treatment in the multi-national states has been established by outstanding Jewish historians. The federative system, composed, as it would be, of different nationalities, large and small, is likely by its very nature to discourage exclusive nationalism with its characteristic policies of intolerance towards minorities.

In a federative system, national group differences would no longer be primarily political and nationalistic, but cultural, linguistic, and religious. The problem of Jewish group rights would be essentially cultural. The principle of cultural pluralism, which would operate under such a system, would automatically provide for Jewish religious and cultural life. All groups, whether numbering four hun-

dred million like the Chinese, or only forty-four thousand like the Romansch in Switzerland, would be given the right to develop their own distinctive culture and way of life. The energy of minorities would be increasingly devoted to the development of their own cultures rather than to resisting the efforts of the majorities to absorb or destroy them.

The problem of legal protection of Jewish cultural and religious rights would also be removed from the jurisdiction of individual nations. Many of the latter have been hostile to Jewish cultural survival, some even to the idea of Jews dwelling in their midst. The function of the individual states in relation to Jews would be limited to that of supporting and encouraging their cultural and religious life. If cultural pluralism is the accepted principle upon which the federative system is to be built, those Jews who desire to maintain or develop their particular language and culture would have the right to do so, and their cultural institutions would be supported by the local, state, and world authorities, as would be those of any other cultural and ethnic group.

Those who favor a federative system have pointed out that the problems of Palestine could be more easily solved if it were a unit in a federation than if it were a sovereign state. The question of political loyalty or the charge of "dual allegiance," sometimes raised against Jews who advocate that Palestine be established as a sovereign Jewish State, would then disappear.

MEASURES AGAINST ANTI-SEMITISM

Thoughtful Christians as well as Jews are aware of the threat to the world's peace and security implicit in any resurgence of anti-Semitism following the end of World War II. For that reason alone, many of them advocate that, for a considerable length of time after the war, Jews in some regions of the world be accorded special protection.

Having learned from the experience between the two World Wars that legal guarantees, however impressive, are in themselves inadequate, these observers feel that a realistic approach to the problem of equality rights for Jews must stress not only a program of intensive education for democracy and against Fascism, but also the effective outlawing of anti-Semitism.

The history of western civilization since the French Revolution

shows that anti-Semitism has been utilized as a political weapon against liberal and democratic tendencies by every reactionary and autocratic government in Europe. It has been reaction's chief weapon. Before World War I, this was best exemplified in Tsarist Russia in which the government deliberately fomented pogroms. In France, the Dreyfus Case marked the last attempt before 1914 to overthrow the French Republic and substitute for it a clerical and reactionary state. In more recent times, even the word "Christian," when utilized by political adventurers, has become a synonym for "anti-Jewish." For example, the "Christian Democratic" or "Christian Socialist" movements in Poland and Austria, like the contemporary "Christian Front" movement in the United States, were outright efforts to gain power by employing the weapon of anti-Semitism.

The Nazis, of course, made anti-Semitism an essential plank in their platform. They recruited quislings in foreign countries from the ranks of the anti-Semites, who sedulously disseminated their propaganda of national disunity and disruption. In the U. S. A., the propaganda of Father Charles E. Coughlin, the Rev. Gerald Winrod, and many other native pro-fascists fairly reeked with anti-Semitic references that could only incite to disaffection and strife. Even in countries where there were no native quislings, anti-Semitism was utilized for fascist ends by the government itself, as in Poland during the years preceding the outbreak of the present war.

After the war, fascist elements, bitterly opposed to the emergence of a democratic world order, may continue to be active, especially in the defeated countries. In Germany, the loss of national prestige and the power to rule over "inferior" races may serve to deepen and strengthen existing reactionary sentiments. The Nazi movement, even after its final military defeat by the United Nations, may possess sufficient vitality to continue to function underground. The punishment meted out by the United Nations to the Nazi leaders may encourage other fanatics to take the place of the "martyrs." And these new Nazi leaders may be aided by pro-fascist elements in other countries.

Moreover, fascist-minded individuals and groups everywhere, not only in Germany, may once again resort to anti-Semitism to bolster their cause. During the First World War, as early as 1915 at the height of German military successes, anti-Semites in Germany were preparing an excuse to be used in the event of a German defeat.

That excuse was the propaganda slogan alleging a Jewish *Dolchstoss* or "stab in the back." That this propaganda found its mark is borne out by the rapid rise of the Nazi movement, which exploited that legend to the full. It may even be that the Nazis and other anti-Semites are already plotting to use anti-Semitism as a prelude for a new fascist counter-revolution.

Proposals have been made that an international convention be passed, by which the various countries would obligate themselves to enact legislation against anti-Semitism. But Jewish public opinion has become increasingly aware that outlawing anti-Semitism constitutes only one phase of a much broader program, namely—the legal proscription of all types of discriminatory propaganda against any racial, national or religious group. Legislation of this type was in fact enacted in France in April, 1939, but this step was taken too late to check the decay in a demoralized, disunited France. Most of those who propose the outlawing of anti-Semitism view it as part of the general problem of outlawing libels or incitements to prejudice against national, racial, or religious groups. But there are others who fear lest such legislation jeopardize freedom of expression in a democratic world. All agree, however, that legislation alone is clearly inadequate and that it must be supplemented by far-reaching educational measures.

Education for democracy must of necessity be a slow process, particularly in the case of nations and individuals with strong anti-democratic traditions. Yet it is clear that no lasting peace is possible without such education. Those who have been poisoned by Hitlerite propaganda will have to be taught a radically different set of values to make them understand that all men, irrespective of race, color, creed, or nationality, have a right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." The youth, brought up in the Hitler *Jugend* and in the various Nazi-inspired youth movements, present the gravest problem.

Various proposals for carrying through this educational work have been made. Psychiatrists suggest special psychiatric techniques to offset the paranoiac (persecution) complex of the German people. Other proposals, less extreme, provide for the importation of teachers from the democratic countries to the Axis lands, the close supervision of curricula and text-books, the preparation of new text-books, and provision for special training in the democratic countries of teachers and exchange students from Axis countries. Such stu-

dents, returning to their homelands, would constitute the nucleus of a new generation of democratic educators. Others, contending that the importation of educators from abroad will not solve the problem, believe that more can be achieved by entrusting the task of re-education to local anti-fascist elements. Most proposals in this field deal with Germany and Japan, whose people are acknowledged to be the major victims of totalitarian propaganda and the myth of racial superiority.

Because anti-Semitism has played such an important part in fascist propaganda and in the fascist educational system, the educators for democracy will have to exert special efforts to wean the people of Europe away from it. Every instrument of education: schools, newspapers, radio, churches, motion pictures, theaters, and libraries will have to be mobilized to help root out anti-Semitism. The foundations for a democratic Europe will not be secure until and unless this is done.

PROTECTING THE RIGHTS OF JEWS

All Jewish groups and organizations agree that Jews should have the right to complete equality as citizens of the countries in which they live. They have also stipulated the need for guaranteeing those rights. Civil equality, which means among other things freedom of religion, freedom in all fields of economic endeavor, and inviolability of domicile and property, is the prerequisite for readjusting Jewish life in the world of tomorrow. Civil equality is also the psychological basis for any kind of Jewish group life, for if the Jew is not considered the equal of other individuals, the existence of Jewish group life will be seriously challenged, if not made impossible.

Most official government pronouncements stress the fundamental importance of individual rights and freedoms in the future world order. Considered statements on the post-war world which have thus far been issued by various religious groups, emphasize the importance of individual freedoms. All members of the United Nations—including some governments-in-exile with a disappointing record on anti-Semitism, and some Latin American countries that oppose Jewish immigration—have declared their adherence to the principles of the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter. Jewish public opinion, highly skeptical of guarantees given by

individual nations, feels that an *international* guarantee is essential to assure equal rights. It is obvious that in a World Federation an international guarantee for all would be automatic. But would this be so in a world composed of sovereign national units? If the world of tomorrow is composed of national units linked by a League of Nations or some similar body, legislation providing for equal rights for Jews in all the member-countries will have to be adopted and enforced on an international scale.

Such legislation should not be limited to Jews alone. Civil equality for members of one minority calls for securing the rights of all other minorities. In a world where millions of Negroes and Asiatics do not enjoy civil equality because of their color, and where Assyrians and other Christians (as in some Mohammedan countries) do not enjoy civil equality because of their religion, there can be no secure basis for the civil equality of Jews. There is no doubt, therefore, that if Jewish groups appear at the forthcoming peace conference with demands for a guarantee of equal rights for Jews as individuals, they must demand an international Bill of Rights for *all* people, regardless of race, color, creed, or nationality.

Methods for enforcing this Bill of Rights will naturally depend on the structure of the future international organization. But one thing is certain—its enforcement cannot be left exclusively to the individual national states or political units. Wherever regional or continental federations are established, the federal authorities, especially the judiciary, must be empowered to guarantee effectively the rights of individuals, through the establishment of a special law-enforcement agency. The procedure of this judiciary should be simple, so that individuals anywhere may be able to present their complaints and demands for justice.

EQUAL RIGHTS FOR JEWS AS INDIVIDUALS

There are many danger spots throughout the world where special protection of the rights of Jews as individuals may be necessary. In this respect, the post-war world may be generally divided into four categories.

- (1) Countries and regions with traditions of equality where Nazism and anti-Semitism *have not* influenced public opinion to the extent that the equal rights of Jews are likely to be endangered.
- (2) Countries and regions with traditions of equality where

Nazism and anti-Semitism, during the past two decades and particularly under Nazi occupation, *have* influenced public opinion to the extent that the equal rights of Jews may be endangered.

(3) Countries and regions with strong anti-Semitic traditions where Jews have been emancipated *in law but not in practice*.

(4) Countries and regions where Jews *have not yet been emancipated*.

In view of the difficulty of securing adequate information about a number of countries and their attitude toward Jews, these categories cannot be considered definitive.

CATEGORY 1: *Countries and Regions With Traditions of Equality Where Nazism and Anti-Semitism Have Not Influenced Public Opinion to the Extent that the Equal Rights of Jews Are Likely To Be Endangered.*

Within this category may be included the United States of America, Canada, Great Britain, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, the Czech regions of Czechoslovakia, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Greece, and almost all the Latin American countries. Given a world order with a minimum of decency, with greater social security for the low-income groups, and the continuation of the present policy of international cooperation, the Jews in these countries need have little cause for apprehension.

But even in these countries, the problem of post-war reaction and anti-Semitism cannot be dismissed. Here, too, in times of social unrest, fascist-minded elements have often attempted to make a scapegoat of the Jews. A post-war program of education against anti-Semitism must be applied in these countries as well.

CATEGORY 2: *Countries and Regions With Traditions of Equality Where Nazism and Anti-Semitism, during the Past Two Decades and Particularly Under Nazi Occupation, Have Influenced Public Opinion to the Extent that the Equal Rights of Jews May Be Endangered.*

In this category we may include such countries and regions as Hungary, Slovakia, Italy, Finland, Estonia, the Croatian and Mohammedan parts of Yugoslavia, and possibly Bulgaria. The number of Jews in these places (except Hungary) is relatively small. It is likely that the local populations have not been completely infected with the virus of anti-Semitism; nevertheless, protecting the equal rights of Jews in these countries will require special attention. Be-

cause of the vast amount of organized Nazi propaganda to which these countries have been exposed, special measures to guarantee these rights may have to be taken. Education against anti-Semitism, extreme nationalism, and Fascism will have to be conducted in these areas on a much more intensive scale than in countries of the first category.

Of course, much depends on the new governments that will be established in these countries after they are liberated from Nazi rule. In this connection, the events in French North Africa since its invasion by American and British forces in November, 1942, should serve as an object lesson. A similar development may take place in liberated France if her government is entrusted to reactionary elements. Following the First World War, the Allies permitted the rise of reactionary governments in Europe, as in the case of Hungary. They also supported a reactionary regime in Poland. A repetition of this policy would be disastrous for the minorities of Europe.

CATEGORY 3: Countries and Regions With Strong Anti-Semitic Traditions Where Jews Have Been Emancipated in Law But Not in Practice.

Before World War II this group of nations contained the largest concentration of Jews in the Eastern Hemisphere. It includes Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Rumania, Slovenia, Germany, Austria, and Iraq—with a total Jewish population of nearly 6,000,000. In these countries anti-Semitism has long been prevalent among the people. In Poland, Lithuania, and Latvia equal rights for Jews, though acknowledged by law and even in the constitution, were not granted in practice. Rumania introduced racial laws even before her entry into the present war.

There have been, of course, different degrees of anti-Jewish discrimination in these countries at various stages in their development. Their anti-Jewish measures cannot be charged merely to Nazi influences, for all have standing traditions of indigenous anti-Semitism, which have come to the fore with every democratic setback. In Hungary, Poland, Lithuania, and Latvia, for example, the overthrow of the democratic order by the forces of dictatorship gave a pronounced impetus to anti-Semitism.

Opinions are widely divergent concerning the future of equal rights for Jews in these countries. Some maintain that in a country like Poland, the common suffering of Jews and Christians under

the Nazi yoke has done much to reduce anti-Semitism among the Polish masses. Opponents of this sanguine view, pointing to the mistreatment of Jewish soldiers in the Polish army, assert that long exposure to Nazi propaganda is bound to result in sharper inter-group tension. Moreover, in many cases individual Poles have benefited from the expropriation of Jews in the Nazi process of "Aryanization" of Occupied Europe.

Poland, as a member of the United Nations, will be on the winning side; this will not be the case with Germany, Hungary, and Rumania, who will emerge defeated, impoverished, and embittered. Much will depend on the treatment accorded them by the United Nations during the Transition Period. Even if the treatment is mild—and this is a gratuitous assumption—some sections of the population will probably continue to be fascist and anti-Semitic. It is doubtful whether these potential storm-troopers will readily acquiesce in granting equal rights to Jews. In these countries vigilance by the United Nations will be the price of Jewish equality.

CATEGORY 4: *Countries and Regions Where Jews Have Not Yet Been Emancipated.*

This category embraces a number of Arabic and Moslem countries—Saudi-Arabia, Yemen, and Afghanistan. While Saudi-Arabia has practically no Jewish population, Yemen has 20,000 Jews who live under severe medieval restrictions. The Jews in Afghanistan, numbering 5,000, are in a similar position. At present there is little prospect of improving the Jewish situation in either Afghanistan or Yemen, where equal rights, if granted, would remain illusory because of the backwardness of the countries in question.

GROUP RIGHTS FOR JEWS

While there is agreement among all Jewish groups on the need for world-wide equal rights for Jews as individuals, there is no such unanimity among them on the need for special national, religious, or cultural *group* rights for Jews. In most West European and American nations, Jewish distinctiveness has been considered predominantly ethnic and religious in character, in some cases cultural as well. (We are not speaking here of the false Nazi racial doctrines disseminated throughout Occupied Europe.) In Eastern Europe and in some Central European countries, however, Jews have been defined primarily as a nationality or national minority.

In the Soviet Union, where the government supports Yiddish cultural and educational institutions, Jews are recognized as a nationality—one of the many nationalities in the Union. Five autonomous Jewish regions, with Yiddish as the official language, have been established in the Ukraine and in Crimea. Yiddish is also recognized as one of the four official languages of White Russia, where Jews constitute a sizeable proportion of the population. Biro-Bidjan, a territory of the Soviet Far East, which was set aside in 1928 for Jewish settlement, has since 1934 constituted a Jewish autonomous region.

In Poland, Lithuania, Czechoslovakia, Latvia, and Rumania, the majority of the Jews considered themselves members of the Jewish nationality and belonged to Jewish political parties. This, as we explained above, was an outcome of developments within the Jewish community, the numerical concentration of Jews, and the multi-national population structure of these regions. There are few political boundaries of long standing in Eastern and Central Europe, and nowhere are the boundaries between the many different linguistic groups sharply drawn. Many language groups are concentrated in separate ethnic islands, as in the case of the Hungarians in Transylvania. The Peace Treaties of 1919 intended to set up national states in Eastern and Central Europe. In this area of mixed nationalities state boundaries could nowhere coincide with the area populated by a single nationality, so a number of multi-national states were established. The majorities soon began to discriminate against the minorities and tried to force them to adopt the majority culture. The Jews, a minority group in all these countries, became the worst victims of this combination of extreme nationalism and cultural imperialism.

The Peace Conference of 1919 was aware of the special conditions prevailing in the East and Central European countries. To protect the minority groups it obliged the new and enlarged states of Eastern and Central Europe to sign special minority treaties.

In addition to the regular treaty stipulations of the Allies, special rights were given to the Jews in the treaties with Greece and Poland. In the treaty with Greece, the Greek Government undertook to protect the observance of the Jewish Sabbath in towns and districts where there was a considerable proportion of Jews. The Polish treaty provided for the establishment of educational com-

mittees appointed by the Jewish communities to advise in the distribution of their share of public funds for the support and management of Jewish schools. Respect for the Jewish Sabbath was also stipulated, and no official elections were to be held on Saturday.

The Minorities Treaties were never really observed. With the exception of Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia, the rights of Jews as a minority were generally disregarded. The Hungarian Jews refused to take advantage of these rights because of their Magyar patriotism and pressure from the government.

All Jews seem to agree that in the countries of the Western Hemisphere and of Western Europe, where most Jews do not consider themselves members of a national minority, no guarantees of group rights are needed. The re-establishment of democratic regimes in the Western European countries after the defeat of Hitlerism, with equal rights guaranteed to all citizens, will, it is felt, be sufficient protection for Jews. At the same time, it is generally believed that the adoption of an international Bill of Rights, the outlawing of anti-Semitism, and the establishment of some inter-governmental agency for the protection of the rights of all individuals would make equal rights for Jews even more secure.

But the Jewish communities do not agree as to group rights in East-European countries. There is a nationalist and an anti-nationalist point of view. The nationalists make the distinction between a nation in the political sense, meaning the citizens of a state, and a nationality—a group within a state, possessing its own language, culture, or historical traditions. They view the Jewish populations in Eastern and Central Europe as national minorities, which ought to have full opportunity to carry on their own religious and cultural life. The states in Eastern and Central Europe, composed as they are of many nationalities, should in their view treat all constituent national groups alike, granting them religious equality, full support of their cultural and communal institutions, and recognition of the minority language as official in those regions where the minorities constitute a sizeable proportion of the population.

In the past, the Jewish organizations favoring minority rights for Jews were the Zionists, the Agudas Israel, the small group of Populists (members of the Folk Party), and the Bundists. All joined in the demand that Jewish communities be granted the status of autonomous public bodies with the right to levy taxes on the Jews,

and that they be granted a proportionate share of the State budget for the maintenance of Jewish schools and other cultural and social institutions.

There were fundamental differences, however, concerning the type of community to be organized. The Agudas Israel, an ultra-Orthodox organization, insisted that the community be exclusively religious in character, with Yiddish as its language. The Mizrachi (religious Zionists) agreed on the religious nature of the community, but preferred to have the revived Hebrew language officially adopted by the schools. At the other extreme the Bundists, a secular, agnostic, Socialist group, consistently opposed to religious influences, insisted that the community be secular in character, that religion be viewed as a private matter, and that religious institutions should therefore not receive any state or official Jewish support. The Bundists, hostile to Hebrew, favored Yiddish as the national language of the Jews.

Between these two extremist groups stood most of the Zionists, who favored an all-embracing community to which every Jew should belong and which would give full support to religious institutions. While recognizing Yiddish and Hebrew as official languages of the Jewish community, most Zionists insisted that Hebrew be the language of instruction in the Jewish schools. The program of the very small group of Populists resembled that of the Zionists, except that they insisted on Yiddish as the official language.

Anti-nationalists, today as during the First World War, are opposed to any Jewish nationalism that would define the Jewish group as a "nation," "nationality" or "people." They view the Jews as differing from their fellow-citizens only in religion, and favor complete assimilation with the surrounding majority in language, culture, and way of life. They do favor the retention of Jewish religious group life, and believe that the forward march of emancipation will finally assure the Jews in Eastern and Central Europe a status similar to that enjoyed by the Jews in Western Europe before the rise of Hitlerism. Special group or minority rights to Jews are viewed as tending to segregate them from their fellow-citizens.

Except in Germany and Hungary, the nationalist point of view predominated among the Jews of Eastern and Central Europe. This fact was eventually recognized by the representatives of the American anti-nationalists who, under the leadership of Louis

Marshall, supported the nationalist demands of the East-European Jews.

Demands for national minority rights for the Jews in Eastern and Central Europe are not as strong today as they were during World War I. Because of the uncertain future of the Jewish communities in these regions, present-day Jewish thinking on this problem has not yet fully crystallized. No one can foretell how many Jews in Europe will survive their present ordeal and how many of them will wish to return to their former homes, or will be permitted to do so. Unfortunately, the desires of the Jews themselves in Nazi-occupied Europe cannot now be ascertained.

In many quarters there is serious inquiry into the causes for the failure of the Minority Rights provisions of the Treaties of 1919. Blame for this failure is generally attributed to the unwillingness of the various new and enlarged states after World War I to treat their minorities well; to their distrust of the minorities as potential spearheads of irridentist movements; and to the ineffectiveness of the League of Nations in enforcing the Minorities Treaties. Serious doubts have been raised as to the practicability of the whole Minorities system of protection as devised by the Peace Conference of 1919. It is contended that states cannot be coerced into treating their minorities fairly and into promoting their national group life against the wishes of the majority population. It is vaguely felt that, in the future, federative plans will solve the Minority Rights problem without the need for special guarantees. There is a growing belief that with the establishment of democracy and the probable separation of Church and State, as in the U. S. A., minorities will rely more on themselves than on state support to carry on their group life; though it is possible, of course, that what is true of America in this respect may not apply with equal validity to the multi-national states in Eastern and Central Europe.

There is less insistence today on the term "national" in speaking of minority and group rights. The terms more frequently used are "cultural" and "religious." This is significant, for it means that there is a tendency to abandon a primarily political approach to the problem of Jewish group rights in Eastern and Central Europe and to emphasize its religious and cultural aspects. This tendency has further implications for Jews. It means that the controversy on this subject, which raged between the nationalists and the anti-national-

ists during the First World War, may not again become a bone of contention after this war, or at least not to the same extent.

The groups most closely identified with demands for minority rights are those that envisage the solution of the Jewish problem in Eastern and Central Europe in terms of having the Jews return to their pre-war homes. The chief spokesmen for this point of view are found among the followers of the Bund, which still opposes emigration as a solution for the East and Central-European Jewish problem. It still upholds cultural autonomy, with Yiddish as the language of the Jewish communities in Eastern Europe and state support for Yiddish schools; and still opposes any state or community support of religion. A joint resolution of the Bund and of the Polish Socialist Party, adopted in 1942, called for national cultural-autonomy for Jews in Poland after the war. A modification of the Bundist view is found in a number of proposals, by persons close to Bundist circles, extending the concept of national autonomy to religious matters.

Diametrically opposed are the Revisionist Zionists and extreme "emigrationists" (or "evacuationists"), who contend that the only solution for the problem of the surviving Jews in Eastern and Central Europe is mass emigration to Palestine and overseas countries. If their plan is carried out, the infinitesimal number of Jews left in Eastern Europe will eliminate the problem of group rights.

Most Zionists, however, while favoring mass emigration to Palestine, recognize the fact that many of the surviving Jews of Europe may prefer to remain in Europe. For the protection of these Jews, Zionists generally advocate group rights to enable them to foster their cultural, linguistic, and religious life. A resolution adopted in March, 1943, by the Labor Zionist Movement in the United States, an influential group in Zionism, calls for the guarantee of such group rights by an international Bill of Rights. It asks that in countries where Jews so desire, and where "such demands are not in contradiction with the structure of the state," the Jewish population, organized in public bodies, have the right to tax its members, and that Jewish schools receive a proportionate share of the funds assigned to public education. The Institute on Judaism and a Just and Enduring Peace of the Central Conference of American Rabbis (Reform) adopted a more moderate resolution calling for the "recognition of the right of Jewish groups everywhere to the fullest enjoyment and fostering of their religious and cultural heritage

in accordance with their specific needs and conditions in their respective countries." It is noteworthy that neither of these resolutions refers to "national minority rights," although formulas similar to those advocated by the nationalists during World War I still appear in resolutions of various Zionist bodies.

A similar approach to Jewish group rights is that of the Agudas Israel, an ultra-Orthodox group. Its adherents are opposed equally to the strictly religious definition of Jewish life as formulated in the western countries, and to the purely national approach of the nationalists. The Agudas Israel, maintaining that the Jews are a "unique nation of God" that cannot be defined merely in terms of religion or nationality, advocates a community organization for Jews with jurisdiction not only over purely religious matters and institutions but also over educational and social activities.

The New Zionist Organization (the Revisionists) and the Jewish State Party advocate that Jews be accorded membership in the United Nations. Other nationalist and Zionist groups, as well as many non-Zionists, though they would like to see the Jews represented at the Peace Table, hold that membership in the United Nations can be accorded only to a state. Even the eventual establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine, which most Zionists favor, does not in their eyes imply the recognition of Jews all over the world as members of a political nation, with representation in the United Nations. In their view it signifies only the recognition of the Jewish state or commonwealth in Palestine.

The demand that the Jewish people be accorded membership in the United Nations should not be confused with the right of the Jews to a national home in Palestine, as expressed by the mandate for Palestine. This mandate provided for an international Jewish body, the Jewish Agency, to represent the Jewish people before the Mandatory Power and the League of Nations Mandates Commission. The status of the Jewish Agency, as the Jewish people's agency on matters pertaining to Palestine, has been recognized by fifty-two nations through their approval of the Palestine Mandate.



PALESTINE IN THE NEW WORLD

Zion shall be redeemed with justice,
And they that return of her with righteousness.
—Isaiah I, 27.

WHAT role can Palestine play in the post-war world? Despite gigantic efforts to reconstruct devastated Europe, millions of Europeans, Jews and non-Jews, will probably seek to emigrate to new homes overseas. In the case of many of these emigrants, their departure from Europe will constitute a “normal” migration, for, war or no war, they would no doubt have left Europe in search of better economic opportunities. But in addition to this “normal” migration, there will be many Jews in continental Europe who will want to emigrate for other than the usual economic reasons.

Undoubtedly, those Jews who remain in Europe after the war will be utterly destitute. Many among them will want to re-establish themselves in their former homes. In some countries they may succeed in so doing but elsewhere they may once again be looked upon as unwelcome economic competitors by a population that is prejudiced, impoverished by war, and long exposed to anti-Semitic propaganda. In some European countries, they may again find themselves aliens and unwanted minorities in the midst of unfriendly majorities. Prejudice against Jews will not automatically dissolve with victory by the United Nations or even with the restoration of legal equality to all. Should the Jews enter into proceedings against individuals and groups in claims involving compensation, feeling against them may become even further intensified. It is only realistic to assume that the anti-Semitism so sedulously fostered by the Nazis and their satellites, will continue in Europe for a long time until

the slow process of education for democracy begins to make itself felt.

Many Jews, loath to remain in an environment that is a constant reminder to them of utter degradation and horror, may want to escape to a new life in lands outside of continental Europe. The question will then arise—where shall they go?

Palestine is one answer to this question. Zionists and non-Zionists alike agree that Palestine has great possibilities for settling many thousands of Jews. They regard Palestine not only as a haven of refuge for persecuted Jews but also as a cultural and religious center. Zionists and many non-Zionists also see in a Jewish Palestine the foundations for a Jewish National Home, though there are differences among them as to the form this Home should take.

To understand the problem of Palestine, a complex of factors must be taken into account: Palestine's part in Jewish history, Jewish achievements there in modern times, the policy of the Mandatory Power (Britain) toward its mandate, the various Jewish views towards Palestine, the Arab problem, and the many proposed solutions for post-war Palestine.

PALESTINE IN JEWISH HISTORY AND TRADITION

The connection of Palestine with Jewish history goes back to remote antiquity. According to Jewish, Christian, and Moham-medan tradition, more than 3,700 years ago the patriarch Abraham, progenitor of the Hebrews, crossed the Euphrates River into what was then called the Land of Canaan. According to the foundation stories of Jewish history, the Land of Canaan was promised by God to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. From those days forth it occupied a fundamental place in Jewish life and thought.

The Bible relates how after their long sojourn in Egypt, the Israelites fought to regain the Land of Canaan. Centuries later, David's son, Solomon, built the Temple in the mountain stronghold of Jerusalem, and around this sanctuary Jewish national and spiritual life was centered. In it Judaism found its highest expression, laying the foundation for the three great monotheistic religions of the world.

The Jews lived in Palestine for approximately 1,500 years, but their connection with the Land continued in spite of the destruction of the two Jewish States by Babylonia and Rome. In 586 B.C., Neb-

uchadnezzar, King of Babylonia, captured Jerusalem and destroyed the Temple. The exiles, as we read in Psalm 137, "wept by the rivers of Babylon when they remembered Zion." In their anguish they cried out:

"If I forget thee, O Jerusalem,
Let my right hand forget her cunning!"

They did not give up hope of re-settling in their homeland. Lacking the sanctuary in Jerusalem, their communal life was built around the synagogue.

Their prophets interpreted the exile to them as God's punishment for their moral transgressions and religious faithlessness, but prophesied that the "valley of dry bones"—symbol of Israel in exile—would become flesh again and be restored to national independence. In their vision of "the end of days," they foretold an era of universal peace, justice, and security, when "nation will not lift up sword against nation, nor learn war anymore," and when "out of Zion shall go forth the Law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem."

The hopes of the exiles were soon realized when Cyrus of Persia conquered Babylonia, and gave the Jews the right to re-settle in Palestine. They derived therefrom a spiritual strength which flowered and created lasting religious values. The period of the Second Commonwealth (537 B.C.—70 A.D.) saw the development of Rabbinic Judaism and the rise of Christianity. The Bible and the Apocrypha, edited during this period, illustrate the complete identification of the Jewish people with the Jewish religion and Palestine.

Jews in the scattered communities outside of Palestine retained contact with "the Land" by making pilgrimages and contributing a shekel as a special tax for the upkeep of the Temple in Jerusalem. The Jews valiantly resisted the attempts of the Romans to destroy their national independence; but the last battle for Jerusalem, in 70 A.D., culminated in the destruction of the Temple.

Ill-fated revolts against the Romans took place in 125 A.D. and in 133 A.D., and as late as the eighth century Abu Isa prepared a Jewish army in Persia for the delivery of Palestine. Ever since the destruction of the Second Temple, the Jews have been without a homeland of their own; but their faith in a God of Righteousness and in a Zion restored through the promised Messiah, has sustained them during the many centuries of their wandering and persecution.

Lacking a temporal state, the synagogues and Rabbinical acade-

mies kept alive the Jewish national spirit and the hope for restoration in Palestine, channeling these sentiments into works of religious expression. The Talmud and Midrashim (Exegetical Books) are replete with passages illustrating the Jews' love of the Holy Land. The traditional Daily Prayer Book (Siddur) and the Holiday Prayer Book (Mahzor) contain many prayers for the restoration of the Land of Israel. Palestine became a central theme in religious practices and observances, in the Grace after meals, the marriage service, the celebration of holidays, etc.

Saadia Gaon (10th cent.) advised the penitent to atone for their sins by residence and prayer in Jerusalem. Pilgrimages to the Western (Wailing) Wall in Jerusalem were common. Even dying in the Holy Land was considered meritorious. These attitudes retained their hold among Jews everywhere, and have persisted down to our own times.

Throughout the long exile (Heb. Galut), there were always some Jews dwelling in Palestine. Following the First Crusade (in 1096), their number was drastically reduced, but later, persecution in Europe led to an increase in Jewish migration to Palestine. The mystical writings of the Kaballists stressed the redemption that would come to Jews in Eretz Yisrael. The new wave of anti-Jewish persecution in the 17th century gave rise to the false Messianic movements, notably that of Shabbatai Zvi, and caused many Jews to leave for the Holy Land; so did the rise of Hassidism in Poland. By the middle of the nineteenth century, a community of some thirty-five thousand Jews was resident in Palestine, mainly in the three holy cities of Jerusalem, Safed, and Tiberias.

With the European emancipation, which began in revolutionary France in 1791, a change took place in the thinking and outlook of the Jews in Western Europe. Until then, the Jews had viewed themselves, and had been considered by others, as a religious nation, to be eventually restored to Palestine. But when they were granted civic equality, many of them ceased to think of themselves as belonging to a people or a nation, and thought of themselves rather as members of a religious community. On becoming citizens of a particular country, they considered themselves Jews by religion only. Others considered themselves Jews by birth only and were readily assimilated to the dominant culture of their adopted country through baptism or intermarriage. To these Jews, Palestine ceased to be the Promised Land. Their newly found home, in which they

were granted citizenship, became for them the land of promise. In Germany, the growing Reform movement divested Judaism of its national traditions and officially rejected the belief in, and hope for eventual restoration in Palestine. Though this Reform movement subsequently weakened in Germany, it later took firm root in the United States of America.

As early as 1840, as a result of the "Damascus Affair," when the Jews were charged with the age-old libel of ritual murder, the attention of emancipated Jews in Europe and in the United States was focused on the plight of their brethren in the Near East. It was then that Moses Montefiore of England became interested in Jewish colonization in Palestine.

What is known today as 'cultural nationalism' was then beginning to attract the subject peoples of Europe, and among Jews too the spirit of nationalism began to assert itself. The barbarous persecutions of the Jews in Tsarist Russia were stirring the world's conscience. In Germany, rabbis such as Hirsch Kalischer and Judah Alkalay urged the resettlement of the Holy Land on a religious as well as national basis. Moses Hess, a former co-worker of Karl Marx, proposed in his "Rome and Jerusalem" the restoration of a Jewish State on national grounds. Christians, too, adherents of the theological doctrine that the *Restoration of the Jews* would effect the redemption of mankind, were also interested in the idea of Jewish colonization in Palestine. Some, like Laurence Oliphant and George Eliot, were motivated by humanitarian reasons. Others, like Lord Shaftesbury, were motivated by the desire to extend British domination to the Near East.

In Eastern Europe, where the traditional Jewish way of life held sway, the idea of a Jewish return to Palestine was especially encouraged and promoted in the newly-born *Haskalah* or Enlightenment literature, by such Hebrew writers as Perez Smolenskin, Moses Leib Lilienblum, and Eliezer ben Yehudah. In Russia, the pogroms of 1881-1882 stimulated a Jewish renaissance, and many groups known as *Hovevei Zion* (Lovers of Zion) were formed. Leon Pinsker wrote *Auto-emancipation*, in which he pleaded for independent Jewish political action. Ahad-Ha-am ("One of the People"—the pen-name of Asher Ginsberg) in his tersely written Hebrew essays, laid stress on the national-cultural aspects of the Jewish renaissance rather than on colonization.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, most of the Jews of

the world lived in Eastern Europe and considered themselves members of the Jewish nationality. While some among them who belonged to radical groups had ceased to believe in the return to Palestine, the overwhelming majority never ceased to hope for national restoration in *Eretz Yisrael*.

Today, national-religious redemption in Palestine finds its adherents among Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform Jews. The historic association of the Jews with the Holy Land is a chain that has never been broken.

JEWISH ACHIEVEMENTS IN MODERN PALESTINE

The rapid growth and steady progress of the Jewish Community or Yishuv in modern Palestine constitute a unique chapter in Jewish and world history.

The first Jewish group migration (Aliyah) to Palestine in modern times began with the influx of Jewish students and dreamers from Russia and Rumania in the early 1880's. Subsequent waves of immigration followed closely upon momentous events, such as the abortive 1905 revolution in Russia, the issuance of the Balfour Declaration in 1917, the promulgation of oppressive economic measures in Poland in the 1920's, and the rise of Hitler to power in Germany in 1933. Each of these waves of immigration brought to Palestine various types of Jews, who have left their collective stamp upon the Yishuv economically, politically, and culturally. Though they have come to Palestine from every country in the world they have succeeded in overcoming their linguistic and cultural differences, and with the aid of the reborn Hebrew language have gradually molded themselves into a relatively compact and homogeneous Jewish community.

At the end of the First World War, the number of Jews in Palestine sharply decreased. Since then, the Jewish population of Palestine has multiplied nearly tenfold. Where as in 1919 there were only 55,000 Jews in Palestine, the number in October, 1943 was approximately 535,000. In two decades the percentage of Jews in the total population of the country has risen from 9% to 35%. It is a youthful population too, as the following figures indicate: Whereas among the Arabs 31% of the population are between 20 and 39 years of age, and while in the United States the percentage for this age group is 31.8%, in Palestine the number of Jews who fall within

this category constitutes 42.6% of the population. While in the United States 17.2% of the population are over 50 years of age, and in England 22.8%, in Palestine only 12% of the Jews are in that category. It should be noted, however, that the restricted immigration of the past five years and the recruiting of Jewish residents of Palestine in the British, Polish, and other Allied Armies have increased the proportion of older people in the Jewish community, which may have grave consequences for an already declining Jewish birthrate.

Every Jew over eighteen, male or female is a member of the organized Jewish community, which bears the name of *Knesseth Yisrael*. Membership, however, is semi-voluntary; anyone not wishing to be included in the community may make a formal declaration to that effect. The institutions of Knesseth Yisrael are: (1) *Assefath Nivharim*, Jewish Representative Assembly whose members are elected by the Yishuv, whose functions cover the financing and general administration of certain community services such as education, social welfare, public relief and religious needs, (2) the Vaad Leumi, National Council, whose members are elected by the Assembly, (3) the Chief Rabbinate (elected every eight years) and local rabbinical offices, (4) the local communities.

The last election to the Assefath Nivharim was held in August, 1944, and 200,881 persons participated in the voting, more than seventy per cent of all those eligible to vote. Normally, elections for the Assefath Hanivharim take place every four years.

The final results of the elections gave the Jewish Labor Party, Mapai, 64 seats; the Hashomer Hatzair and the Left Poale Zion, 21 seats; the Labor Unity Movement, (opposition group within the Mapai), 16 seats; the orthodox laborites Hapoel Hamizrachi, 17 seats; the Communists 3 seats; the General Zionists, group "A" 7 seats; Mizrachi 7 seats; Aliyah Chadasha 19 seats (New Settlers Party, a political group founded about two years ago by leading Zionists of Germany and Austria, composed largely of German, Austrian, Czechoslovakian and Rumanian immigrants); the Women's Zionist Organization 4 seats; the Maccabi 3 seats.* The rest of the 171 seats are scattered among smaller groups. The Zionist-Revisionist Party, the Sephardic Jews, the General Zionist Group "B" and the Jewish Farmers Association are not represented at the Assefath Hanivharim since they boycotted the elections. These latter groups have

* See pp. 128 ff. for political philosophies of these groups.

indicated that they will not recognize the newly elected Assembly. The delegates to Assefath Hanivharim have elected a Vaad Leumi of 42 members which administers the affairs of Knesseth Yisrael between sessions. The Executive of the Vaad Leumi conducts the day-to-day affairs of the Yishuv and represents it in external and internal matters. The functions of the Vaad Leumi are to represent the Yishuv vis-à-vis the authorities, to organize local communities, municipalities, local and urban councils; to organize the educational system of Knesseth Yisrael, to organize and maintain the chief Rabbinate (which is the supreme religious authority of the Yishuv), and to organize and maintain health and social services. The ultra-Orthodox Agudas Israel does not accept the jurisdiction of the Vaad Leumi, but in actual practice it cooperates with the Vaad Leumi on many important issues.

One of the major achievements of the Jewish National Home to date has been the absorption into agriculture and industry of thousands of Jews who were formerly members of the middle class: businessmen, storekeepers, professionals, and white-collar workers. Jewish agricultural colonization has been the backbone of the Yishuv. Men and women raised in an urban environment, many of them university graduates and professionally trained, have undertaken with true pioneering zeal to reclaim the soil of Palestine, which had been neglected for centuries. The modern halutzim (pioneers) have turned swamps into green fields and arid soil into flourishing orange groves. Inspired by the writings of such men as A. D. Gordon and J. C. Brenner, who expounded the doctrine of the need and dignity of labor, the halutzim have developed new forms of community living, free from exploitation and unbridled competition.

In 1942, more than 25 per cent of the Jews in Palestine, an estimated adult population of 73,000, lived on farms in 280 rural settlements, consisting of both private and cooperative colonies. The latter are more numerous, though the former contain more settlers. Among the types of cooperative settlements that prevail in Palestine are the following: the Kvutzah (Cooperative Settlement), where not only the work but also the whole mode of living is organized on a collective basis; the Moshav Ovdim (Workers' Settlement) where the individual owns his own farm and homestead, but which has many cooperative features; and the Kibbutz, a larger type of Kvutzah or a federation of Kvutzot, where the members engage in co-

operative handicrafts as well as agriculture. The introduction of industries into the cooperative settlements has proved economically advantageous, and in the opinion of some experts, Palestine is particularly suited to the development of a rural-industrial economy. These newer types of cooperative settlements, with their emphasis on mutual aid, constitute one of the finest accomplishments of the Yishuv.

But Palestine has not only absorbed thousands of Jews into new social communities on the farm. In a land which had little industry until 1920, the Jews have succeeded in introducing many large and small-scale enterprises. The most important factor in the development of modern industry in Palestine was its electrification by the Palestine Electric Corporation, which supplies 92% of the electricity used in Palestine. Also of considerable importance is the exploitation of minerals in the Dead Sea by the Palestine Potash Ltd.

At the beginning of 1942 there were in Palestine about 1,800 Jewish factories employing 45,000 workers, in addition to more than 4,000 small shops. In the course of the war years, Palestinian products have been introduced to new Middle East consumers. A case in point is Palestine's pharmaceutical industry, which before the war made little or no headway; now Palestine's drugs and preparations are to be found in all Middle Eastern markets. The war has also given an impetus to engineering; to the production of chemical and optical apparatus, mechanical equipment, and wartime tools; and to the establishment of new metal, electrical, textile, and timber plants. In the field of industrial diamond cutting, 30 new establishments are already in existence in Palestine, employing over 3,000 workers. Serious doubts have been expressed, however, as to the future of some of these infant industries after the war, when they will have to face renewed international competition in an at present isolated Middle Eastern market.

Palestine has shown that it possesses an elastic absorptive capacity. In one decade—the blackest in Jewish history, from 1933 to 1943—more than 305,000 refugees from Europe settled in the ancient Land of Israel and rooted themselves on the soil or in industry.

Scholars and agronomists have frequently pointed out that Palestine can absorb a great many more immigrants. With only half of the arable land in Palestine (not including Transjordan) cultivated to date, the total population is about one and a half million. Conservative scholars say that in the period of the Second Common-

wealth, when Palestine was predominantly agricultural, it had a population numbering two and a half millions. This was long before the modern era, with its scientific discoveries in the fields of agriculture and industry. Since then, the soil has, of course, deteriorated. But it is common knowledge among agronomists today that the methodical application of the scientific principles of irrigation, drainage, and crop rotation, and the use of modern machinery would not only multiply the productive capacity of the soil, but also the absorptive capacity of the land as a whole. Experts agree that the hydro-electric power, which would accrue from the building of dams and new water channels, could make Palestine an ever-expanding agricultural center.

Palestine has the advantage of being favorably situated geographically, with easy access to water routes in two directions—through the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. It is therefore natural that commerce should be one of the mainstays of its economic life, despite the small percentage of Jews gainfully occupied in commercial pursuits in comparison with other countries. The rapid growth of industry and agriculture and the demands made by the war have led to an expansion of trade facilities, as reflected in the busy harbors of Haifa, Tel Aviv, and Jaffa. Until the outbreak of the war, Palestine's substantial exports, particularly its citrus fruits, were absorbed by Britain, Germany, Syria, and Egypt.

Because of the "Back-to-the-Sea" movement, which received an impetus from the construction of the port of Tel Aviv in 1936, there is already a small Jewish fishing fleet and the beginnings of a merchant marine. The latter is now engaged in vital war work throughout the Mediterranean. The revival of maritime occupations in Palestine will undoubtedly strengthen the post-war position of Palestine as the "westward looking port" for the Near East.

With more than a third of the population belonging to cooperative organizations of one kind or another, the cooperative movement in Palestine has penetrated every sector of the country's economy. We have already referred to the cooperatives in agriculture. Business and industry too have developed many forms of cooperation. The oldest cooperative for the sale of the wines of the Jewish colonists was founded in 1896. Today there are more than 500 Jewish cooperatives in Palestine, embracing such diverse enterprises as farm marketing, cooperative stores, producers' cooperatives, irrigation associations, cooperative contracting, home-building groups, in-

dustrial cooperatives, and credit unions. Twenty thousand members belong to the consumers' cooperatives, and together with family members, some 70,000 people are embraced by this movement. Most of the Jewish workers in Palestine are organized in the Histadrut Ha-ovdim—the General Federation of Jewish Labor in Palestine, a federation of trade unions that engages in a whole variety of co-operative activities. In 1942, the Histadrut numbered 136,000 members (including the wives). No other democratic country has such a high proportion of organized workers.

Large and small gifts and investments by Jews throughout the world have contributed greatly to the rehabilitation of Palestine. The Jewish National Fund (Keren Kayemet L'Yisra-el), founded in 1903, has invested about \$23,000,000 in land purchases to date, which land belongs to the Jewish people in perpetuity. In the four decades since its establishment, the J.N.F. has invested altogether about \$30,000,000 in Palestine. For in addition to acquiring land, it has also spent millions on land improvement, afforestation, and water supply. Many public institutions, such as the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, and a number of hospitals are located on land purchased by the J.N.F. Land owned by the J.N.F. is leased, never sold, to Jewish settlers who must agree to cultivate it themselves. The land holdings of the J.N.F. to date total 620,000 dunams or 155,000 acres. (Total Jewish landholding is 1,600,000 dunams—6% of the total area of Palestine.) The Keren Hayesod or Palestine Foundation Fund, which was established in 1921 for the purpose of aiding Jewish colonization in Palestine, has collected over \$40,000,000 in the first twenty-one years of its existence. The money for these Funds was raised by public solicitation. American Jews have contributed more than one half of all the monies collected by these two Funds—the principal money-collecting agencies of the Zionist Organization.

Of considerable aid to Palestine colonization has been the PICA (Palestine Jewish Colonization Association), established in 1921 to take over the administration of those colonies that had been subsidized by Baron Edmond de Rothschild of France and that had been managed since 1899 by the I.C.A. (Jewish Colonization Association). Next to the J.N.F., the PICA is the largest land-owning agency in Palestine, and between 1900–1914 it founded many colonies in Galilee and in the Upper Valley of the Jordan.

Along with its agricultural and industrial development, modern

Palestine has also experienced a cultural revival. Stimulated by the zealous Eliezer ben Yehudah, who was the first to speak modern Hebrew in Palestine and who single-handedly labored to produce a standard Hebrew Dictionary, the now flourishing Hebrew-speaking Yishuv is both a tribute to his genius and to its own inherent cultural vitality. Hebrew is not only the language of instruction in all Jewish schools from the kindergarten to the Hebrew University; it is also the language of daily life in Palestine. At present, about 80,000 pupils attend various private and public schools, though the overwhelming majority of them attend the 483 Jewish schools under the Vaad Leumi. Though composed of less than 600,000 Jews—men, women, and children—the Yishuv today is served by eight Hebrew daily newspapers, scores of weeklies, and a host of other periodicals of a specialized nature. Books in Hebrew on all subjects, including translations, continue to pour from the presses. Recently a new publishing house, *Hameasef*, was founded to publish the works of contemporary Yiddish writers in Hebrew translations. Hebrew is one of the three official languages of the country, the other two being English and Arabic.

The Hebrew cultural revival is notable in other forms of artistic expression. The Hebrew theater is represented by four separate theatrical companies. Plastic art is represented by the famous Bezalel Art School founded by Boris Schatz. Under the initiative of Bronislaw Huberman, the Palestine Symphony Orchestra was founded in 1937. New social forms of cultural expression are to be found in the Tel Aviv communal celebration of the Jewish Festivals, such as the Purim Carnival (Adloyada), the Procession with First Fruits on Shevuot, the Candle Parade on Hanukkah, etc.

This adjustment of Jewish culture to modern western forms of expression was achieved in the face of opposition by the tradition-bound elements who objected to the new trends on religious grounds. Most of the Jews living in Palestine before 1914 (when it was called the "Old Yishuv") were strongly Orthodox and objected to such innovations as the use in daily intercourse of the Hebrew language (which they considered a "sacred tongue") and the adoption of western wearing apparel and customs. They resisted the introduction of a modern school system and were particularly shocked by the laxity of some of the newer arrivals in the observance of religious rites. They were no less critical of the Orthodox among the immigrants who, though retaining traditional religious prac-

tices, adopted modern ways and methods. Many of the Orthodox youth established the most advanced types of cooperative settlements.

Some of the later immigrants, influenced by the secular trends in Europe, established completely secular organizations and communities. Today there are increasing signs of a return to tradition. At a conference of Jewish poets, writers, and journalists held in Jerusalem in the summer of 1943, it was resolved to establish a permanent Council on Sabbath Observance, and to publish articles in the press on the subjects of Jewish tradition and religious observance.

The outstanding cultural development of the Yishuv is the Hebrew University on Mt. Scopus, overlooking the city of Jerusalem. Opened officially on April 1, 1925, the University admits persons of all creeds and nationalities, though few non-Jews have availed themselves of the opportunity to study there. Many Jewish scientists and scholars who were exiled from Nazi Germany have been added to the staff of the University. In 1941, the student body, coming from many countries, numbered 1,400; the Faculty, including professors, lecturers, and assistants, numbered over 100. With its 400,000 books the Hebrew University has the largest library in the entire Near East. At the outbreak of the present war, the Hebrew University placed its scientific staff and resources at the disposal of the British military authorities.

Centrally located at the crossroad of Europe, Asia, and Africa, Palestine is playing an important part in the present war. In the first place, it is a logical junction of trans-continental airlines. In the second place, it is only seventy-five miles from the Suez Canal and stands guard over that gateway to Asia. And in the third place, it is rendering yeoman service to the armed forces of the United Nations. The city of Haifa on the Mediterranean, which is a terminus of the oil pipe-line from Iraq and which has its own refinery plants, is of inestimable value to the United Nations' Mediterranean fleet. Palestine, as a whole, is a source of food and war materials, and serves as a clearing center for the distribution of war supplies to the Western Powers, the Soviet Union, and their allies in the Near and Far East.

More than 30,000 Palestinian Jews have been fighting on many war fronts under the British flag. On September 18, 1944, the War Office of Great Britain announced that a Jewish brigade would be

formed from Jewish battalions recruited in Palestine. This marked the realization of a desire long expressed by the majority of the Jews of Palestine.

THE WORLD ZIONIST MOVEMENT

Zionism, the movement for rebuilding Palestine as the Jewish Homeland, did not become a political movement until Theodor Herzl (1860–1904) came upon the scene. Himself a westernized Jew, he was stirred by the spectacle of the notorious Dreyfus Case in Paris, where he was serving as correspondent for a Vienna newspaper. He reacted to this trial by writing *Der Judenstaat* ("The Jewish State"), which was published in 1896. Basing his analysis on a belief in the inevitability of anti-Semitism, he arrived at the conclusion that the Jewish people need an autonomous state. Despite the ridicule, hostility, and active opposition that he encountered, Herzl succeeded in uniting most of the forces working toward a national solution of the Jewish problem and in establishing the World Zionist Organization.

Under his leadership, the First Zionist Congress met at Basle, Switzerland, in August, 1897. There the Basle Platform or Program was adopted, announcing that "Zionism aims at establishing for the Jewish people a publicly and legally assured home in Palestine." The Jewish National Fund (Keren Kayemet L'Yisrael) was subsequently established to buy land in Palestine.

Herzl died suddenly in 1904 at the early age of 44, but not before he had laid the foundations for Zionist development. He had failed in his attempt to obtain a charter for colonization from Turkey, which then controlled Palestine. But during the First World War, Zionist efforts were crowned with success when the British Government on November 2, 1917, issued the famous Balfour Declaration, which declared that Britain viewed "with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people." A Jewish Legion composed of several thousand Jews helped to wrest Palestine from the Turks.

The Zionist movement has functioned since 1897 through the World Zionist Organization, which is now composed of autonomous parties united in their effort to rebuild Palestine, but differing ideologically. They range from the Marxist "Left Poale Zion" and "Hashomer Hatzair" on the left, to the Jewish State Party (and

until 1935, the Revisionists) on the right. Any Jew over eighteen years of age is eligible for membership in the World Zionist Organization, provided he subscribes to the Basle Program and pays the shekel (in the U. S. A., a fee of fifty cents) through a Zionist party. The supreme authority of the movement is vested in the World Zionist Congress, which met annually from 1897 to 1902 and biennially thereafter, except during the two World War periods. The work between conventions is done by the General Zionist Council (also known as the Zionist Actions Committee) appointed by the World Zionist Congress. The last Congress (the twenty-first) was held in Geneva, Switzerland, in the summer of 1939, just before the outbreak of the Second World War. A total of 1,052,377 shekels (Heb. pl. *shkolim*) were sold for the Congress year of 1938-39. The strength of the parties at that Congress was as follows: United Socialist-Labor bloc, 203 delegates; General Zionist Group "A," 125; General Zionist Group "B," 32; Mizrachi, 67; Jewish State Party, 5; Left Poale Zion, 11; and various other groups, 89; total 532.

In the United States, the Z.O.A. (Zionist Organization of America) estimates its membership at 100,000. Its constituent organizations (Hadassah, Order of Sons of Zion) and affiliated organizations (Young Judaea, Masada, Avukah, and Junior Hadassah) are estimated to total about 148,000 members. The labor groups (Poale Zion, Pioneer Women's Organization, Jewish National Workers' Alliance, Habonim, League for Labor Palestine, and Hashomer Hatzair) list a membership totaling about 45,000. The religious groups (Mizrachi, Mizrahi Women's Organization, Hapoel Hamizrachi, the League for Religious Labor in Palestine, and Hashomer Hadati) claim to have nearly 58,000 members. Revisionists, who have their own Zionist Organization (The New Zionist Organization of America), claim a membership of 22,000.

In accordance with the provisions of the Palestine Mandate, the World Zionist Organization was recognized as the "appropriate Jewish agency" in all matters affecting the establishment of the Jewish National Home. But the W.Z.O. was authorized to secure the cooperation "of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish National Home." Zionists entered into negotiations with "non-Zionists" for this purpose, and in August, 1929, the enlarged "Jewish Agency for Palestine" was established, consisting of a Council of 224 Zionists and non-Zionists in equal number. The President of the World Zionist Organization was by

agreement to be the president of the Jewish Agency. (At present—1944—the President is Dr. Chaim Weizmann). Since the formation of the Jewish Agency, the Mandatory Power (Britain) has dealt with it instead of with the W.Z.O. Owing to differences between Zionists and non-Zionists on representation policy, the Agency has been greatly handicapped in its operation. Efforts to establish complete harmony have not yet succeeded.

BRITISH POLICY IN PALESTINE

Since the issuance of the Balfour Declaration, British policy toward Palestine has undergone many modifications. At present, the British Government is following the policy of the MacDonald White Paper issued on May 17, 1939 (when Malcolm MacDonald was Colonial Secretary), providing for the freezing of the Jewish population of Palestine at one-third of the total population.

There is a striking discrepancy between the object of this White Paper and the pledge originally made by the British Government in the Balfour Declaration of Nov. 2, 1917. The latter, a "declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations," aimed at the establishment of a Jewish State or Commonwealth in Palestine upon the attainment of a Jewish majority.

It was on the basis of the Balfour Declaration that the Principal Allied Powers at their meeting in April, 1920, at San Remo, Italy, granted Britain a mandate for Palestine (then including Transjordan). The terms of the Mandate were subsequently approved by the Council of the League of Nations on July 24, 1922, and a year later (Sept. 29, 1923), this Mandate was put into effect.

The United States Government expressed its approval "of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people," through a Joint Congressional Resolution signed by President Warren G. Harding on Sept. 21, 1922. Thus the United States joined with the 51 nations of the League in endorsing the Palestine Mandate.

In 1924, the United States (not a member of the League of Nations) signed the joint American-British Convention, which incorporates the terms of the Mandate. It provides that no changes may be made in the document in derogation of American rights or interests without the consent of the United States.

Even before accepting the mandate for Palestine, Britain was

faced with the problem of conciliating Jewish and Arab demands. Prior to World War I the Arab population tolerated Jewish settlement in Palestine. But after 1914 the Arabs were influenced by the general spirit of nationalism, particularly by the intensive anti-Jewish propaganda spread by Arab nationalists. This propaganda finally culminated in sporadic outbreaks in April, 1920, and in more serious riots in May, 1921, when many Jews and Arabs were killed.

Sir Herbert Samuel, a British Jew, was appointed the first High Commissioner for Palestine. He attempted to prevent a recurrence of similar violence by a policy of conceding to Arab demands. He advised the government to restrict Jewish immigration according to the capacity of the country to absorb newcomers. His interpretation was made official British policy when Winston Churchill, then British Colonial Secretary, issued on June 3, 1922, on behalf of the British Government, the Churchill White Paper (British White Paper, Cmd. 1700), which declared "that the terms of the Declaration do not contemplate that Palestine as a whole should be converted into a Jewish National Home, but that such a home should be founded in Palestine." It further stated that the Jewish community in Palestine "should know that it is in Palestine as of right and not of sufferance," but declared that "immigration cannot be so great in volume as to exceed whatever may be the economic capacity of the country to absorb new arrivals."

Shortly thereafter, in accordance with the right given to Britain by the Mandate, Transjordan (the territory east of the Jordan and about $3\frac{1}{2}$ times as large as the rest of Palestine) was declared excluded from the Mandate provisions dealing with the "Jewish National Home." Despite the strenuous objections of the Zionists, Transjordan was closed to Jewish immigration.

During the years that followed, the Jews of Palestine made considerable progress in building up their reduced "National Home." Then in the summer of 1929 an "incident" at the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem touched off a series of demonstrations leading to a concerted attack against Jews in different parts of Palestine, lasting from August 23rd to the 29th. The Mufti (Moslem religious head), Haj Amin el Husseini, craftily exploited the religious fanaticism of his followers by claiming that the Jews sought to take over the Moslem holy places. When the agitation finally abated, 133 Jews and 116 Arabs were found killed.

To investigate the immediate causes of the riots and make recom-

mendations, the British Government sent a commission to Palestine, with Sir Walter Shaw as Chairman. After hearing witnesses on both sides, the Shaw Commission announced its findings in March, 1930. It declared that the Arabs were first to attack but that the Mufti and his followers were not guilty. Blaming Jewish immigration and colonization for the riots, the Commission recommended curtailment of immigration and regulation of land purchases by Jews. The Commission also recommended that an expert inquiry be made on the land question.

As a result of the Shaw Commission Report, the Colonial Office in London stopped granting immigration certificates until a land expert, Sir John Hope Simpson, had an opportunity to make an investigation. In his report (the Hope Simpson Report on Immigration, Land Settlement, and Development), Sir John urged additional restrictions on immigration because he found the land capable of absorbing only 20,000 new settlers. On the basis of his report, a new statement of policy known as the "Passfield White Paper" (Cmd. 3692)—Lord Passfield was Colonial Secretary—was issued in October, 1930, by the British Government. The Passfield White Paper stated that "in estimating the absorptive capacity of Palestine at any time, account should be taken of Arab as well as Jewish unemployment in determining the rate at which Jewish immigration should be permitted." It declared that there was no land available for further Jewish agricultural settlement except vacant areas already in Jewish possession, and called for more stringent control of immigration. It sought to repudiate the provisions of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate by declaring that "The Jewish National Home is not meant to be the principal feature of the Mandate."

The Zionists and their Christian friends protested vigorously. Their arguments carried enough conviction to sway official opinion, for in February, 1931, Ramsay MacDonald, the British Prime Minister, addressed a public letter to Chaim Weizmann, in which he sought to modify some of the extreme statements of the previous documents and to mollify the critics of the Government. The letter recognized that the Mandate involved an obligation to the whole Jewish people and not merely to the Jews already resident in Palestine. It assured the Jewish Agency that no ban would be imposed on land transfers to Jews, and that steps would be taken to ascertain how much State and other land could be made available for Jewish

settlement. Finally, it confirmed the policy of Jewish immigration "based on the economic absorptive capacity of the country."

Years of notable expansion in Palestine followed. The year 1935 marked the peak in immigration, when over 60,000 Jews, mostly from Germany, were admitted. But this rapid influx, coinciding with the Italian campaign in Ethiopia, had its repercussions on the Arabs in Palestine, who started a new and protracted series of disturbances that virtually developed into a civil war directed against both the Jews and the Government.

Late in 1936 the British Government appointed a Royal Commission, headed by Lord Peel, to investigate the causes of unrest. The Peel Commission went to Palestine, and after many months of hearings issued its report (Cmd. 5479) in July, 1937. The Commission found that the Arabs had gained materially and substantially from the presence of the Jews in the country, and further declared that "unquestionably . . . the primary purpose of the Mandate, as expressed in its preamble and its articles, is to promote the establishment of the Jewish National Home."

The Arab Higher Committee, which was established at the end of 1935 by a coalition of all Arab parties, informed the Commission that the disturbances were due to the Arabs' desire that the Mandate be abrogated and that Istikal, i.e. total Arab national independence, be established in Palestine.

Because of this Arab attitude the Peel Commission concluded that the Mandate, with its dual obligation of establishing a Jewish National Home without prejudicing the rights of the non-Jewish communities, was unworkable. It therefore recommended something new—a plan for partitioning Palestine. This Plan envisaged the division of Palestine into an Arab State, comprising about two-thirds of the area of the land, a small Jewish State, and neutral corridors that were to remain under British rule. The Jewish State was to include Galilee in the North, the "Valley of Jezreel" (known as the Emek), and a strip along the coast. The Arab State was to comprise the rest of Palestine west of the Jordan, and the present territory of Transjordan. Because of their universal religious associations, the cities of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth, together with a narrow corridor from Jerusalem to the port of Jaffa, were to become a permanent mandated territory. The mixed (Arab and Jewish) towns of Haifa, Tiberias, Safed, and Acre were temporarily to remain under British administration.

The Royal Commission also recommended that during the transition period between the adoption of the Plan and the creation of the new states, steps should be taken to prohibit purchases of land by Jews in prospective Arab areas and to halt all further Jewish entry into them.

As soon as the Peel Commission Report was published, the British Cabinet announced its full support of the Partition Plan and its decision to stop land sales and restrict Jewish immigration to 8,000 for the next eight months.

The Partition Plan divided the Jews into two opposed camps—Ja-sagers and Nein-sagers. The World Zionist Congress meeting in Zurich in August, 1937, debated the Partition Plan and authorized its Executive to explore the matter further. Zionists throughout the world also debated the Plan and passed resolutions 'pro' or 'con.'

The Arabs, headed by the Mufti, aided by outside Arab groups and supported by Fascist funds, were violently opposed to the Partition Plan. They countered it with increased terrorism against both the British and the Jews. To suppress the terror, the British Government found it necessary to send a fully equipped division of troops. While these soldiers, with the aid of Jewish supernumerary police and volunteer Jewish defense bodies, succeeded in restoring some measure of order, sporadic riots continued to break out, bringing the country's development virtually to a halt.

In November, 1938, the Woodhead Commission, appointed as a technical body to draw up specific boundary lines, further complicated matters by reporting on three alternative partition plans (Cmd. 5634). At the same time, it advised that "the partition of Palestine is impractical and would be unworkable." The British Government then issued a statement saying that further examination of the Partition idea had shown "the political, administrative, and financial difficulties involved in the proposal to create independent Arab and Jewish States inside Palestine" to be "so great that this solution of the problem" had been found "impracticable" (Cmd. 5893).

Meanwhile, the British Government initiated a new policy. Hitherto it had been negotiating with the League of Nations, the Jewish Agency for Palestine, and the Arabs within Palestine. But this time it invited representatives not only of the Palestinian Arabs but also of the neighboring Arab states of Egypt, Iraq, Saudi-Arabia, and Yemen, in addition to representatives of the Jewish Agency for

Palestine, to discuss future policy at a round-table conference in London. Discussions were opened in February, 1939, but because of Arab refusal to sit at the same table with Jews, it was not a round-table conference, and the British Cabinet met with each group separately. The meeting was doomed to failure from the outset, and after six weeks the discussions petered out. The Jews were willing to negotiate as long as the right to develop their National Home was not infringed upon. The Arabs insisted on their full demands, tantamount to a nullification of the Mandate.

This was followed by the MacDonald White Paper (Cmd. 6019). Announced on May 17, 1939, and approved by Parliament, it provided for the limitation and eventual cessation of immigration on purely political grounds. The Paper paid tribute to Jewish achievements in Palestine, but in an obvious concession to the Arabs announced that "His Majesty's Government now declare unequivocally that it is not part of their policy that Palestine should become a Jewish State." The White Paper stated that the British Government had been carrying out its obligations under the Mandate, by virtue of the fact that more than 300,000 Jews had already immigrated into Palestine since 1922, and that the Jewish population was approaching one-third of the entire population of the country. It sought to convey the impression that its obligations under the Mandate had been fulfilled.

The White Paper called for the admission of 10,000 Jews a year for the ensuing five years, but in view of the serious plight of Jewish refugees from Europe, permitted a "bonus" immigration of 25,000 additional Jews, at the discretion of the High Commissioner of Palestine. It further provided that in 1944, following the admission of 75,000 Jews, there be no further Jewish immigration "unless the Arabs of Palestine are prepared to acquiesce in it." The High Commissioner was also granted "general powers to prohibit and regulate transfers of land." Provision was also made for the establishment of an independent government by the majority in Palestine at the end of ten years. This would mean, of course, freezing the Jewish community to a permanent minority status of one-third of the total population, provided the Arab population remains stationary. Since this is unlikely, in view of the high birth-rate of the Arab population, the White Paper actually implies a gradual but permanent proportional reduction in the number of Jews in Palestine.

Jewish and liberal world opinion was highly indignant at the

MacDonald White Paper, which was assailed as an "appeasement" measure taken under pressure of Nazi-Fascist propaganda and Arab terrorism.

The Jewish Agency branded this White Paper as "denying to the Jewish people the right to reconstitute their national home in their ancestral country," and argued that the limitation of Jewish immigration would "derogate from the recognition of the historic right of the Jewish people in Palestine, which lies at the root of the Palestine Mandate." In its opposition it received support from many leaders in democratic countries, including Winston Churchill in Britain.

The Mandates Commission of the League of Nations examined the White Paper and, after hearing MacDonald's defense of it, decided unanimously that the policy of curtailing Jewish immigration and land purchases "was not in accordance with the interpretation which the Commission had always placed upon the Palestine Mandate." The majority of the members of the Commission found, furthermore, that "the very terms of the Mandate" and "the fundamental intentions of its authors" precluded any possibility of reinterpretation along the lines of the MacDonald White Paper.

The outbreak of the war in September, 1939, prevented the Mandates Commission from presenting its report to the Council of the League. Since then the British Government has been following the policy laid down in the MacDonald White Paper. Though the deadline for admission of Jews into Palestine has passed, the British Government then announced that the 31,078 Jews who were still legally entitled to enter Palestine but have failed to do so because of the war, will be admitted when conditions make that possible. Colonel Oliver Stanley, Colonial Secretary, has indicated, however, that there will be no basic change in the policy laid down in the White Paper of 1939.

The British policy of limiting Jewish immigration into Palestine at a time when the Nazis were hounding the Jews of Europe led to numerous attempts by immigrants to storm the gates of Palestine without first obtaining official certificates. From time to time, many such unfortunates were apprehended by the British authorities and were either interned or forbidden to enter.

The number of Jews permitted to enter Palestine under the present immigration policy is woefully inadequate if Palestine is to furnish at least a partial answer to the post-war refugee problem.

The replacement of the White Paper of 1939 by a new and more liberal policy toward Jewish immigration and toward an equitable solution of the Arab-Jewish problem is considered absolutely necessary by enlightened public opinion.

ANTI-ZIONIST AND ZIONIST ATTITUDES ON PALESTINE

From the very inception of the Zionist movement, Zionism has met with opposition from several widely divergent groups—from opponents of Jewish nationalism, from Orthodox and Diaspora-Nationalist groups, from Leftists, especially Bundist groups, and from Reform Rabbis and laymen.

Theodor Herzl's appeal in 1896 for the establishment of a Jewish State met with opposition from the leaders of the Jewish communities in the western countries. Considering themselves Jews by religion only and resenting any attempt to characterize the Jews as a people, a nation, or a nationality, they were afraid that the establishment of a Jewish State anywhere would endanger their status in the countries of which they were citizens. Anti-Semites, they feared, might then accuse the Jews of being strangers and aliens with national aims of their own.

The anti-Zionist communal leaders, concerned though they were with the spread of anti-Semitism and particularly disturbed by the persecution of the Jews in Russia and Rumania, considered anti-Semitism a left-over of a bygone age of reaction, which would disappear with the spread of enlightenment. Sooner or later, Russia and Rumania would follow the pattern of other nations and become democratic. They would then extend emancipation to their Jewish citizens, who would proceed to adjust themselves to the surrounding culture, just as their co-religionists in Western Europe had done.

To the Jews of the West, Palestine could not answer the problem of the refugees fleeing from Russian and Rumanian oppression, if only because of its then primitive state and limited absorptive capacity. Besides, the countries overseas were willing to accept newcomers. They had not yet closed their doors to immigration or even curtailed it.

The Zionist movement also met with opposition from many of the Orthodox Rabbis, who considered any move on the part of human beings to restore the Jews to Palestine a violation of the belief in redemption through the promised Messiah. These rabbinic-

cal leaders were equally opposed to the activities of Zionism in education and communal affairs, for Zionists established modern Hebrew schools and theaters. Young Zionists discarded their traditional garb, shaved their beards, and mingled socially with the opposite sex. Zionism was associated with secularism and modernization, consequently with the breakdown of the traditional system of education and of rabbinical influence in all walks of life. In Tsarist Russia, where Zionism had been proscribed for some time as a revolutionary movement, Orthodox leaders feared that participation in it might bring harm to the Jewish community.

In Eastern Europe there were some Jews who, though opposed to the Zionist program, considered themselves members of the Jewish nationality. As against a Jewish restoration in Palestine with Hebrew as the national language, they preferred cultural-national autonomy in Eastern Europe, with Yiddish as the national language. These Diaspora-Nationalist Yiddishists were represented by the Jewish People's Party in Tsarist Russia. (There were also Yiddishist Territorialists, who favored a land other than Palestine for Jews.) Except for members of the Bund, there are few Diaspora-Nationalists left who oppose Palestine restoration.

Opposition to Jews returning to Palestine came also from the Leftist elements in Jewish life. The East-European "General Alliance of Jewish Workers," organized in 1897 and known as the Bund, favored in its early days the assimilation and disappearance of the Jewish community as such. Later, however, it advocated national-cultural autonomy for Jews in Eastern Europe as a completely secular community, with Yiddish as the exclusive national language.

The members of the Bund considered Zionism a "bourgeois" movement with which a socialist proletariat could have nothing in common. In general they opposed "class collaboration" with non-workingclass Jewish elements. Jews, they argued, should not emigrate from the countries in which they were living, but should join instead in the revolutionary fight for Socialism wherever they dwelt. Labor Zionism and religion were viewed with hostility because they supposedly diverted the interest of the workers from the social revolution. Religion was particularly frowned upon as outmoded and "bourgeois."

Similar objections to a Jewish return to Palestine were voiced by Socialist and Bolshevik Jewish leaders who favored Jewish assimilation. Though the Jews in Russia were recognized after the Bolshevik

Revolution as a nationality, Communists nevertheless opposed Zionism as a "bourgeois" movement and a tool of British imperialism.

The Bund itself, a socialist party, was dissolved in Russia but the Bolsheviks continued to influence masses of Jews in Poland, Rumania, and Latvia. The issuance of the Balfour Declaration in 1917 spurred many former Bundist sympathizers, particularly in the United States, to revise their position on Palestine, without at the same time abandoning their loyalty to the Bund as a movement. In America, many of the leaders of the Jewish Labor Committee, formerly Bundists, have increasingly recognized the potentialities of Palestine in the solution of the Jewish problem and in furthering socialist construction, though officially the Bund is still opposed to Jewish settlement in Palestine.

In the Jewish community of the U. S. A. the major opposition to Zionism to-day springs from a number of Reform Rabbis and laymen, who look upon Zionism as a philosophy of despair based on a lack of trust in democracy and the moral evolution of man. They object to the definition of Jews as a nationality or a people and consider any emphasis on nationalism contrary to the universalism that the prophets preached. Jews, constituting a religious community, united by religious ties alone, not by culture or ethnic solidarity, should consider themselves exclusively nationals of the country of which they are citizens, in the cultural as well as civic sense.

The dispersion of the Jews is viewed as a blessing, for Jews thereby bear witness to the Universal God and carry out their mission to teach monotheism to mankind. The bitter lot of the Jews is interpreted by anti-Zionist groupings as the price Jews must pay for being the "suffering servant of the Lord." Jews are destined by God to be the martyrs for humanity.

The "homelessness" of the Jewish people, of which Zionists and other nationalists speak, is to these anti-Zionists a myth. Individual Jews, like individuals of other religious faiths, may have problems of adjustment arising from social upheaval. They may wish to migrate to some new place and start life over again, but their future security, according to this body of opinion, does not depend on the establishment of any particular Jewish homeland. The problem of anti-Semitism will be solved in a democratic order when men's hearts are won to religion, and not until then. Man's inhumanity

to man is primarily a problem of morals and religion, and secondarily a problem of the social order. From this point of view, the anti-Zionist proponents denounce "political Zionism" as "secular" because it put its faith in social, economic, and political forms.

Concerned with the rights of the Arabs living in Palestine for 1,300 years, they do not endorse the Balfour Declaration.

If individual Jews wish to settle in Palestine, that is their right, and they should be allowed to establish themselves there. A Jewish majority in Palestine, however, resulting in a Jewish State with a Jewish flag and a Jewish army, might impair the situation of the Jews throughout the world. The anti-Zionists therefore favor the settlement of Jews in many countries.

They also fear lest the establishment of a Jewish nation in Palestine change the nature of Jewish thinking from spiritual to political preoccupations, and thus cause entanglements and difficulties for the Jews wherever they live. "Political Zionism," they say, tends to separate Jews from other Americans and to delay their integration in the "American way of life." If there were such a thing as Jewish citizenship in a Jewish State, the citizenship of Jews in other countries would fall under suspicion. The existence of a Jewish State might then be exploited by unfriendly elements in their unwillingness to accord to Jews the same rights as to others. According to this reasoning, hostile countries would then be freer to make their Jewish citizens feel uncomfortable and unwanted, advancing the argument that the Jews now had a place to which to go and where they belonged.

Exponents of this view are opposed to Jewish nationalism anywhere, not only in Palestine. Many among them deplore that the Jews in the Soviet Union are officially recognized as a nationality and would prefer to see minority rights for Jews abolished in Eastern Europe after the war. They insist that the Jews there be recognized as Jews in religion only; and that they become nationals, even in the cultural sense, of the particular dominant nationality about them.

Classic Reform Judaism has been anti-Zionist from its inception, and many Reform Rabbis have been strongly "anti-nationalist." In 1917, some of them tried to prevent the issuance of the Balfour Declaration. Today, the anti-Zionist Reform Rabbis are a minority in the Central Conference of American Rabbis (Reform). Towards

the end of 1942, the anti-Zionists and some non-Zionists among Rabbis and laymen in America organized the "American Council for Judaism," whose aim is "to combat nationalistic and secularistic trends in Jewish life."

Among anti-Zionists are also to be found a number of Jews indifferent to Jewish survival, either because they lack appreciation of Jewish values or because they do not believe the struggle to maintain these values is worthwhile. Most Jews of this type are not affiliated with Jewish organizations and are not organized as a separate group, though some are still active in the field of Jewish philanthropy. These anti-Zionists consider the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine a threat to their philosophy, since such a Home would perpetuate Jewish group life and its distinctive patterns.

ZIONIST ATTITUDES AND PARTIES

Anti-Zionists, however, constitute but a small minority among those Jews who are concerned with Jewish problems. The majority of such Jews, whether Zionists or non-Zionists, are interested in the continued development of the Jewish Homeland and especially in furthering Jewish immigration to Palestine after the war. The total number of enrolled Zionists does not include the membership of the many national Jewish organizations of all types, most of which have endorsed, in one way or another, the Jewish reconstruction of Palestine. Nor does it include all the contributors to the various Palestine Funds, or a great many others active in the economic, cultural, or religious development of Palestine.

There are many different approaches to the problem of building the Jewish National Home. Even the line of division between Zionists and non-Zionists is not very clear. The Hashomer Hatzair Party in Zionism, for instance, declares itself in favor of a bi-national state; while leading non-Zionists are willing to go further by approving under certain conditions a Jewish State in Palestine. Many non-Zionists are in favor of mass migration to Palestine, while some Zionists doubt Palestine's capacity to accept large numbers of immigrants in the years immediately following the war. Furthermore, among the Zionists themselves there are differences in point of view and emphasis, which have found expression in the many competing Zionist parties.

Zionists maintain that the Jews constitute a people or nationality,

possessing all the attributes of nationhood except one: a national homeland. There is much disagreement among them as to the use of the term 'Jewish nationalism,' but they all insist that Jews should once again assert their nationhood by concentrating in Palestine to form either a Jewish State, a Commonwealth, or an independent community in a bi-national state. All branches of Zionism, including the religious and cultural wings, are influenced by this 'nationalist' approach to Jewish life and Judaism.

Zionists deny the charge sometimes leveled against them that their interest in rebuilding the Jewish Homeland impugns their patriotic loyalty to the country of which they are citizens. They do not share the fears of the Reform anti-Zionists. In refutation they point to the activities of the Irish in the United States in helping to obtain independence for Ireland, and to the activities of the Polish and Czech Americans in helping to reconstitute Poland and Czechoslovakia as independent states. The patriotism of these citizens, Zionists point out, has never been questioned.

Zionists assert that characterizing the Jews as a people or nationality has no political implications for Jews outside of Palestine; that this characterization in no way implies that the Jews of America or Britain or any other country should become citizens of Palestine. They point out that the Jews of the world have cultural, religious, and sentimental, but not political ties with Palestine.

Zionists contend, moreover, that the universalism and the ideals of democracy preached by the prophets of Israel imply no narrow patriotism or isolationism, but a sense of brotherhood with all mankind. No one is less the patriot if in his enlarged vision of a democratic world he insists that justice be done to a stricken wandering people, uprooted and homeless.

Since Zionism is a broad Jewish movement, it is natural that among its supporters there should be persons with widely differing social, economic, and religious backgrounds. In the beginning, the World Zionist Organization was composed of groups and individual adherents who differed in their conception of Zionism and the role of Palestine. Gradually, organized parties developed in Zionism, each with its own emphasis and point of view.

Zionists who do not belong either to the Labor, Religious, or Revisionist wings are usually classified as General Zionists. In America, this group is represented by the Zionist Organization of America and by Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America.

The General Zionists are mostly members of the middle class who wish to keep the Zionist Organization representative of all points of view rather than have it dominated by any one point of view. Since 1935 they have been divided into two groups, Group "A" and Group "B." Group "A" is pro-labor in that it prefers to see the labor and pioneer elements dominant in the development of Palestine. Group "B" is especially interested in promoting middle class settlement and private enterprise, and tends to oppose a dominant place for labor.

Affiliated with the Zionist Organization of America are the following youth groups: Young Judaea, Masada, and Avukah (lit. "Torch")—the American Student Zionist Federation. The youth affiliate of Hadassah is Junior Hadassah.

Several parties adhere to the philosophy of Labor Zionism, the final aim of which is the establishment of a Jewish Cooperative Commonwealth of Labor in Palestine, in collaboration with the Arab workers. Founded in 1903, the Poale Zion (Labor Zionist) Party seeks a fusion of nationalism and socialism, both of which it regards as essential to the restoration of the Jewish Homeland and the regeneration of the Jewish people. Even in the Diaspora, Labor Zionism has been concerned with the occupational restratification of the Jewish masses, i.e., changing them from middle-men to "productive" workers who play their part in the basic industries of their respective countries. In its propaganda it emphasizes the dignity of labor. In America, the Poale Zion Party is known as the United Zionist Socialist Labor Party (Poale Zion-Zeire Zion). Offshoots of the party are the Jewish National Workers' Alliance, a fraternal order; Habonim (lit. "the Builders"), a Youth Organization; the Pioneer Women's Organization, and the League for Labor Palestine.

In Palestine, the right-wing members of the Labor Zionists belong to the "Mapai" (Mifleget Poale Eretz Israel—Palestine Jewish Labour Party), which is affiliated to the Second International (The World Socialist Organization). They advocate a Socialist Commonwealth in Palestine, and their policy is gradualist rather than revolutionary. Mapai has suffered a split in its ranks in the past year, spokesmen for the minority group declaring that while they support the ultimate demand for a Jewish state, they fear that the immediate establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth urged in the Biltmore program * would involve partition of the country.

* See p. 149.

The Left Poale Zion, originally a Zionist Communist group, sought to find a common ground between Communism and Zionism. Today, they are still a revolutionary socialist group (opposed to communism chiefly because of the one-party system in the Soviet Union). They advocate a socialist bi-national state in Palestine with a Jewish majority on the basis of permanent political parity, and are opposed to the moderate reformist socialism of the Mapai.

The Hashomer Hatzair (Young Guard) is a world organization of halutzim (pioneers), founded in 1924 and devoted to the building of the Jewish National Home in Palestine on a socialist basis. The emphasis of the halutzim is on collective land settlement and, as revolutionary Socialists, they have strong sympathies for the Soviet Union. They stress cooperation between the Jewish and Arab working classes and look forward to a socialist bi-national state in Palestine, with a Jewish majority on the basis of permanent political parity and as part of an Arab Federation.

Orthodox Zionists who wish to see the new Palestine established along traditional religious lines have their own organization, the Mizrachi. Founded in 1902, the Mizrachi Organization adopted the slogan, "The Land of Israel, for the People of Israel, according to the Torah of Israel." In Palestine, as in the Diaspora, it is especially concerned with maintaining Kashrut (the Jewish dietary laws), the strict observance of the Sabbath and holidays, the traditional Jewish practices and rituals, and traditional Jewish learning.

Its youth movement, known as Torah Va-Avodah (Law and Labor) embraces many organizations with different names in different countries. In America, Mizrachi youth organizations include Hapoel Hamizrachi (the Mizrachi Worker), a pioneer organization with a religious socialist orientation expressed in the principle of "Torah and Labor," and Hashomer Hadati (the Religious Guard). The former advances the thesis that only by being a worker can one be free from the sin of exploiting others.

Religious Zionism is not, however, confined exclusively to the Orthodox Jews, for there are also Conservative, Reform, and Reconstructionist Jews who view Palestine as an important factor in preserving Jewish religious life.

The Revisionist movement in Zionism grew out of the need felt by many Zionists to revise the policies and methods of the World Zionist Organization in dealing with Britain, the Mandatory Government. Founded in 1925 by Vladimir Jabotinsky, Revisionism

maintains that Zionism is a pressing international need, and insists on unhampered mass immigration into Palestine and Transjordan, with a Jewish majority on both sides of the Jordan. One of the cardinal principles of the Revisionists is the subordination of all class conflicts to a program of mass colonization. Zionists, they say, should first strive to establish the Jewish National Home as a Jewish State, and only thereafter should they be concerned with the form that State should take. They are therefore opposed to the Labor wing, which aims at the establishment of a Labor Commonwealth. They also demand the immediate representation of Palestinian Jews in the United Nations coalition.

In their extreme emphasis on nationalism, Revisionists have frequently resorted to violence and terrorism in obtaining their immediate objectives. They have vigorously combatted the Mandatory power's restrictive immigration policy and have bitterly criticized the moderate policies and methods of the Zionist Organization. In 1935, the Revisionists seceded from the World Zionist Organization and established "The New Zionist Organization." Its junior branch is Brith Trumpeldor (Betar), named after Captain Joseph Trumpeldor, the Jewish hero who died in 1920 defending the colony of Tel Hai.

Under the influence of Revisionist thinking there was organized in the United States the "Committee for a Jewish Army of Stateless and Palestinian Jews," advocating the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine and the formation of a Jewish army of Palestinian and stateless Jews.

Those relatively few Revisionists who chose to submit to the discipline of the World Zionist Organization established in 1936 the "Jewish State Party." Its youth movement is Brith Hakannaim (Union of Zealots).

ZIONIST POSITIONS

All Zionists believe that the Jewish National Home in Palestine is capable of serving as: 1) a physical haven of refuge; 2) a religious and cultural center for the Jews of the world, and a guarantee of Jewish group survival; and 3) a normalizing agency for the Jews in and outside of Palestine.

Zionists, the chief proponents of the emigrationist point of view, hold that following the war there will be a great many Jews in Europe who will be either unwilling or unable to continue to live in

places where they have witnessed so much persecution and brutality. Doubting that restrictions on immigration, now operative in the overseas countries, will be relaxed, Zionists likewise maintain that a large number of European Jews would prefer to live in Palestine regardless of improved conditions in their own countries or possibilities for emigration elsewhere. They say that the achievements of the Jews in Palestine have laid the groundwork for mass participation of Jews both in agriculture and industry, and that Palestine should therefore receive primacy in any consideration of Jewish resettlement after the war.

To Zionists the Jewish refugee problem is more than one of narrow philanthropy—it means establishing homeless Jews on secure economic foundations. From a broad humanitarian viewpoint, homelessness implies more than the lack of a shelter where one can enjoy physical security. A true home for Jews implies a place where they are able to satisfy their individual and collective spiritual needs in an atmosphere suffused with Jewish values.

Zionists point out that even in the democracies, where religious freedom prevails, the wide dispersion of Jews among non-Jews and the primary claims of the dominant culture tend to discourage many Jews from diligently observing their religion or from fully transmitting it to their children. Only in Palestine can Jews observe the seventh-day Sabbath and the Jewish holidays without experiencing grave inconveniences. Those who wish can observe the Jewish dietary laws (Kashrut) without any difficulty or social embarrassment. Moreover, only in Palestine can their children normally acquire a thorough religious training, and study the Bible and other Jewish subjects in the daily schools as part of their regular education.

Pessimistic about the future of general Jewish culture in the Diaspora without a Jewish cultural center in Palestine, Zionists maintain that to Jews dwelling in democratic countries Jewish culture must inevitably take second place to the culture of their own land. Thus, few Jews today outside of Palestine have mastered the Hebrew language sufficiently to use it as a living tongue or even as a medium of Jewish scholarship. In the western democratic countries, Jewish scholarship has found it necessary to draw upon immigrants from Eastern Europe for spiritual sustenance and replenishment. But the East-European centers of Jewish culture and learning have been destroyed by the war and, even prior to the war, there was a strong assimilationist trend in many parts of Eastern Europe, lead-

ing to a spiritual decline. Zionists assert that even the policy of the Soviet Union in giving Jews full opportunity and state support for cultural expression in Yiddish has been of little avail in the face of the stronger influences of Russian culture.

A more extreme variation of the pessimistic approach to the future of Jewish life in the Diaspora is the view held by adherents of the *Shelilat Hagalut* ("Negation of the Diaspora") theory—that the Jews are bound to disappear as a distinctive cultural, national, and even religious entity unless a substantial number is concentrated in one territorial center, preferably, Palestine. Nor is it anti-Semitic prejudice or persecution that has forced sociologists such as Arthur Ruppin, Ezekiel Kaufman, and Jacob Klatzkin to this conclusion. On the contrary, they maintain that persecution has had a tendency on the whole to enhance Jewish group solidarity, but that democracy and tolerance make for a loosening of Jewish ties and a gradual disappearance of Jewish group loyalty. They believe that because of the economic and cultural opportunities equality offers, Jews will more and more relax their specifically Jewish religious and cultural ties, drift away from their historic past, and become assimilated to the point of losing their identity as Jews.

Assuming that persecution will not last forever, these scholars point to past experiences in countries where Jews have been emancipated. Under such conditions of freedom environmental forces are too strong, they contend, to keep Jewish group life intact and culturally creative.

Those who share the view of these scholars—whether prompted by motives of cultural perpetuation, religious continuity, nationalist sentiment, or the normal urge for group survival common to all healthy human groups, or a combination of these factors—look to a strong Jewish center in Palestine as the only guarantee for Jewish group survival in an increasingly democratic world.

Nor is this belief in eventual Jewish group disappearance held only by Zionists and protagonists of Hebrew culture. Many secular Yiddishists and even some non-Jews share it. It has prompted many Jews, who wish to see Jewish culture in the Yiddish language perpetuated, to seek a territory where Jews can live as a free national group. It is interesting to note that one of the reasons advanced by Mikhail Kalinin, President of the Soviet Union, for establishing Biro-Bidjan as an autonomous Jewish territory, was to offset the increasing assimilation of Soviet Jews to Great Russian culture. Chris-

tian Zionists too, among them such men as the Reverend John Haynes Holmes and Professor Reinhold Niebuhr, have expressed the opinion that the need for preserving Jews and Judaism is one of the reasons why Palestine should be restored to the Jewish people.

Zionists hold, furthermore, that a Jewish National Home in Palestine will help normalize Jewish life everywhere: a) by providing an answer to the taunt that Jews are eternal wanderers without a Homeland; b) by providing an answer to charges of Jewish "un-productiveness"; and c) by providing a population-absorbing country, which will serve as a safety valve against anti-Semitism.

Most Zionists hold that anti-Semitism is partly conditioned by the feeling prevalent in many quarters that Jews are not like other peoples, in that they are eternal wanderers without a home-country of their own, depending for their livelihood and cultural expression on the good will and bounty of others. In our own time, Nazi propaganda has widely disseminated this view, and many Jews have actually developed a feeling of inferiority—a sense of "not belonging." In answer, Zionists maintain that a flourishing Jewish National Home in Palestine will give the Jews of the world a sense of dignity and pride. By pointing to the social, economic, and cultural achievement of their kinsmen and co-religionists in Palestine, Jews will not only refute the anti-Semitic allegation about Jewish homelessness, but will themselves derive a spiritual satisfaction and a moral courage, which no anti-Semite will be able to destroy. Already, it is pointed out, the small Yishuv (Jewish Community) in Palestine has become a beacon of light and warmth to the harassed Jews in many parts of the world. Thus, the very existence of a thriving Jewish Homeland, they contend, will be of inestimable value in normalizing Jewish life everywhere.

There is a widely held belief that one of the causes of anti-Semitism is the "abnormal" economic structure of the Jewish people—the alleged tendency of Jews to concentrate in commercial and professional occupations. Zionists who hold this view have unceasingly urged that Jews become a "productive" people of farmers and workers. They say that in Palestine prevalent notions about Jewish "un-productiveness" are being dispelled, with favorable effects on Jewish security and dignity everywhere.

There are some Zionists who hold that anti-Semitism is caused primarily by the heavy concentration of Jews in a few localities. With Palestine open to all Jews who desire to enter, they assert that

the real or imaginary, population pressure, which has been a factor making for anti-Semitism, will be eased. The problem raised by Jewish population concentration has not been answered—at least not to the satisfaction of those who consider it a root-cause of anti-Semitism. But Zionists are confident that a Jewish National Home in Palestine will help normalize Jewish life in the Diaspora by reducing the areas of Jewish population concentration.

NON-ZIONIST POSITIONS

Non-Zionism represents a body of sentiment in Jewish life rather than an organized movement with a clear-cut ideology. The non-Zionist attitude was manifested as early as the middle of the 19th century, when the Jewish community in Palestine was supported by philanthropists who were not concerned with the restoration of Jewish nationalism. These non-Zionist benefactors of the Jews in the Holy Land were interested chiefly in promoting charitable and educational institutions. Their special object was to help transform the Jews in Palestine from a state of dependence upon charitable support from abroad to reliance on their own ability to support themselves. To that end they established schools to train the Jews of Palestine in crafts and agriculture.

The Alliance Israélite Universelle, the first Jewish organization established to obtain civil and political equality for Jews, founded in 1870 the Mikveh Israel Agricultural School in Palestine. The early Zionist colonists in the Holy Land would have perished, nor would a sound foundation for the future development of Jewish agriculture have been laid, had it not been for the generous support of Baron Edmond de Rothschild, who is affectionately called Hanadiv Hayadua (the Renowned Philanthropist) because of his achievements in Palestine. By 1914 there were many non-Zionist philanthropic individuals and organizations that supported social and cultural work in Palestine.

Success in obtaining the Balfour Declaration during World War I was due in no small measure to the cooperation of non-Zionists, who opposed the attempts of the anti-Zionists to convince the British, French, and American statesmen and the general public that the Jews did not desire a Jewish National Home in Palestine. After the Mandate was granted to Great Britain, many non-Zionists became active in economic reconstruction and cultural work in Palestine.

They have been well represented in the Palestine Economic Corporation, on the board of directors of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, and in many other agencies and institutions. In 1929 non-Zionists, led by Louis Marshall and Felix M. Warburg, joined in establishing the enlarged "Jewish Agency for Palestine," the official body representing the Jewish people in negotiations with the British Mandatory and the League of Nations on matters pertaining to Palestine. On a number of occasions, whenever a crisis has occurred in the affairs of Palestine, non-Zionists have joined Zionists in appealing to world opinion as, for example, in the Western (Wailing) Wall incident in 1929, and in activities directed against the promulgation of the White Paper of 1939.

It is difficult to draw the line between the views of some Zionists and some non-Zionists. Frequently the difference between them lies in the nature of their approach rather than in their basic point of view.

Non-Zionists believe, along with anti-Zionists and Zionists, also that the Jewish question can be solved only within the framework of a world democratic order. At the same time, they realize that there are some Jewish needs and problems that require special efforts for solution. They view Palestine from this point of view, as best able to solve, at least in part, the problem of Jewish immigration.

Non-Zionists, as a rule, do not share the pessimism of many Zionists concerning the future of Jewish life in Europe. While envisaging great difficulties in the post-war rehabilitation of Jews in the war-torn territories, they nevertheless foresee opportunities for them even in the most anti-Semitic countries. They are opposed to an emigrationist solution involving the mass evacuation of Jews, as advocated by some extremist Zionists, because they fear that such a program would place Jews everywhere in the category of unwanted citizens. They do recognize, however, the right of Jews to reconstruct their lives anew by emigration, and consider Palestine a desirable immigration center for Jews because of the Holy Land's place in Jewish tradition and because of its demonstrated success in colonization. But non-Zionists also believe that it is not advisable to stake the future of Jewish immigration on Palestine alone. They feel that the political issues involved and the limits of the land's absorptive capacity will prevent any solution of Jewish migration

problems through the Holy Land alone. They are therefore active in investigating immigration and colonization possibilities in other lands.

Non-Zionists are fairly close to the Zionist point of view on the question of Palestine's role in the future of Jewish culture and religion. Unlike many Zionists they are not pessimistic with regard to the eventual weakening of Jewish cultural and religious ties in a Diaspora that would not have the inspiration of a Jewish Palestine. Nevertheless they feel that it would be a good thing for Jews everywhere else if many Jews concentrated in Palestine, where they could develop their own religion and culture in a congenial environment. They have abiding faith, however, in the future of Jewish life even without a Jewish Palestine.

Generally speaking, non-Zionists have not yet arrived at a formula with regard to the future development of Palestine itself. They believe that it is too early to come to a decision on this problem, the solution of which depends so much on external forces and general world conditions. Most non-Zionists are in favor of maximum Jewish immigration into Palestine and many of them do not even object to a Jewish State under certain conditions, although a majority prefer the bi-national solution. At the same time, many feel that it would be morally wrong to declare Palestine a Jewish State as long as Jews do not constitute a majority there. They are also opposed to exclusive Jewish control of immigration because this would mean delegating state power to Jews who, in their zeal, might not give due consideration to the problems of the Arabs in Palestine and to the actual absorptive capacity of the country. They prefer to have this task entrusted to the Mandatory Power or to some new international body.

Non-Zionists feel that the Jews of Palestine have not done enough to establish good relations with the Arabs. Some of them question the policies of the Jewish National Fund in not permitting Arabs to settle on land owned by it, or in employing Jewish labor exclusively.

While sharing the objections of anti-Zionists with regard to applying terms such as "nation," "national," and "nationality" to Jews in western countries, non-Zionists do not always adhere to the rigid anti-Zionist definition of Jewish group life as being essentially or exclusively religious. Most non-Zionists prefer the use of the term "religious community" as a definition of Jewish group life; yet they

grant the validity and urgency of Jews engaging in ethnic group interests other than religion, and favor united action by Jews throughout the world for certain specific and limited purposes. But they strongly object to promoting such efforts through an organization like the World Jewish Congress, which, they claim, has a political connotation.

While insisting that Jews in democratic countries are mainly a religious community, non-Zionists do not share to the same degree the fear of the Reform anti-Zionists that the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine or the characterization of Jews as a nationality as, for instance, in the Soviet Union or elsewhere in Eastern Europe, endangers the political status of Jews in democratic countries. At the same time, they do not share the Zionist view that a Jewish Palestine would be a potent factor in reducing or eliminating anti-Semitism. They believe that this eventuality will be an outgrowth of expanding democracy throughout the world.

Despite many points of disagreement between non-Zionists and Zionists concerning Palestine, non-Zionists are in many respects much closer to the Zionists than they are to the anti-Zionists. (A typical non-Zionist attitude is expressed in the statement issued in January, 1943, by the American Jewish Committee.) But, on the question of the future of the Jews in the western democracies, particularly in the United States, it is clear that the non-Zionist position is closer to that of the anti-Zionists.

An important branch of Orthodox Jewry, known as Agudas Israel (Party of Israel), has long believed that Zionism is a transgression against the traditional Jewish belief that divine intervention through a promised Messiah will restore the Jews to Palestine. Gradually, however, the Agudah's opposition to Zionism has diminished, though it insists that Palestine must be rebuilt along Orthodox Jewish lines. The Agudah now has colonies of its own in Palestine. In America, its youth affiliate is known as the Agudas Israel Youth Council. Unlike the Mizrachi, the Agudah refuses to join or cooperate with the World Zionist Organization, claiming that it will not join an organization containing secularist groups that do not observe religious practices.

THE ARAB PROBLEM

When Britain was given the Mandate for Palestine by the League of Nations, she was made responsible not only for "placing the coun-

try under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of a Jewish National Home," but also for "safeguarding the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants of Palestine irrespective of race and religion." Obviously, the problem raised by the presence of Arabs in Palestine will have to be solved if the Jewish National Home is to be established. In the past, Zionist leaders generally assumed that the Arab problem in Palestine would solve itself, with the progressive realization by the Arabs that their improved standard of living was due directly to the influx of Jewish immigration. The matter proved to be far more complicated, for a rise in the Arabs' standard of living was accompanied by a rise in their cultural level and a further heightening of their political and nationalist consciousness.

Moreover, religious differences between the Arabs (a predominantly Moslem people) and the Jews—have frequently been exploited by the Arab religious leaders for political ends. The Christian Arabs in Palestine, too, though themselves a minority, have joined in anti-Jewish agitation. The cultural, social, and psychological differences between the Jews, long a westernized people, and the Arabs, have hindered a speedy rapprochement.

For generations the native Palestinian Arabs lived under semi-feudal conditions. A relatively small number of wealthy and educated families owned a disproportionately large share of the land, and controlled the lives and destinies of the poor and illiterate majority. The estates of the effendis (the rich landowners) covered vast tracts, about one-quarter of the area of the country, and about 40% of its cultivable land. These enormous land holdings had gradually expanded as the small holdings of the fellaheen (peasants) were taken over by the effendi money-lenders, whose exorbitant rates of interest consumed more than 25% of the peasants' income.

With the increase of Jewish immigration into Palestine in the past two decades and the influx of large amounts of capital, the country's economic situation improved tremendously. The effendis sold portions of their land holdings to the Jews, and with their newly acquired wealth slowly emerged as a modern capitalist class. The fellaheen too benefited directly from Jewish immigration by applying the better methods of intensive cultivation they learned from their Jewish neighbors. Some sold part of their holdings to Jews, and a few used the acquired capital to improve the remainder of their property. Arab workers and peasants also benefited generally

from the rise in wages and improved working conditions, direct results of Jewish immigration. The wage level of the Arab workers in Palestine is far higher than that of the Arab workers in any neighboring country, not excluding prosperous Egypt. This is shown by comparing the standard daily wage rate of Arab workers in these countries:

UNSKILLED WORKER	SKILLED WORKER
Palestine mils	Palestine mils
Palestine 220-250	350-600
Egypt * 30- 50	70-200
Syria * 80-100	150-300
Iraq * 50	70-200

Arab propagandists frequently charge that a large class of landless Arabs has been created as a result of land purchases by Jews. This contention has been largely disproved by the fact that up to the end of 1935 only 664 Arabs were recognized by the Government Commission as having valid claims of having been displaced. Of these, more than half (347) were resettled at the expense of the Government, and the remainder did not press their claims.

One of the most discernible effects of Jewish settlement in Palestine, and one which gives the most cogent answer to the charge of Jewish displacement of Arabs, is the phenomenal growth of the Arab population. Between 1919 and 1938, the Arab population increased by some 400,000 (from 600,000 to nearly 1,000,000), while the Arab population in neighboring states remained about the same. Since 1935, the annual rate of increase of the Arabs, about 35 per 1,000 and largely in the vicinity of Jewish settlements, has been one of the highest in the world. While a small share of this increase can be attributed to the influx of Arab immigrants, particularly from the adjoining territories of Syria and Transjordan, seeking to take advantage of better opportunities for employment, a good part of it is directly traceable to the improvement in health conditions. Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America, has been instrumental in providing hospitals and facilities for health education for all of Palestine's inhabitants, regardless of religion or nationality. With its aid, malaria and trachoma (a common eye disease) have been practically eradicated.

Improved economic and health conditions have led to a marked

* Adjusted to Palestine currency

reduction in the infant mortality rate of the Arab population, which dropped from 205 per 1,000 in 1929 to 121 per 1,000 in 1939. Infant mortality among Palestine Moslems is much lower than that of any Middle Eastern country. The death rate among Palestinian Arabs dropped from 27 per 1,000 in the years 1922-27 to 21 per 1,000 during the years 1936-41.

The story of Arab nationalism in Palestine is similar to that of nationalism elsewhere. As a movement, it feeds on its historical past and the desire for independence. It is exacerbated by any factor which stands in its way. Its motives and the uses to which it is put are not always above suspicion.

The most enlightened elements of the Arab population of Palestine consider themselves a part of the Arab people who reside along the wide littoral of the Mediterranean, from Spanish Morocco to Syria, and beyond that to the Arabian peninsula and Iraq. While Palestine has never been an Arab national center of culture as it has been traditionally a center for the Jews, and while its intellectual and religious leaders have not played a very significant part in the cultural development of the Arab people, the Arabs of Palestine nevertheless consider that land their country. Most of them resent the arrival of the Jews. They do not acknowledge the traditional Jewish claims to Palestine, which they consider too archaic to have any binding effect. They frequently assert that in the First World War the British Government, through Sir Henry MacMahon, pledged in a letter to Hussein, Sherif of Mecca, the formation of an Arab Federation, including Palestine, in return for help against the Turks. MacMahon, himself, however, has made it clear that a reservation in the letter excluded land west of the Jordan.

No doubt the presence of a large group of Jews in Palestine has modified the intransigent attitude of many Arabs, some of whom are willing to tolerate a Jewish minority in the country; but it may be said with certainty that the overwhelming majority of the Arabs is definitely opposed to any status that would make them a minority within the country. A large portion of them, especially the youth, would, if given the opportunity, drive the Jews out of the country.

The First World War stimulated the growth of Arab nationalism. This was further accentuated by the influx of Jewish settlers to Palestine. The reactionary effendis resented the break-up of the feudal system, brought about by the introduction of modern tech-

nology and industry. The members of the rising Arab middle class, benefiting from the influx of Jewish capital into Palestine, were nevertheless inclined to espouse the cause of Arab nationalism to check the growing power of their Jewish middle class competitors. Arabs in the surrounding countries, who hoped for the eventual establishment of a pan-Arabic federation in the Near East, also promoted Arab nationalism.

Arab nationalist feeling was also furthered by the propaganda of Nazi and Italian fascist agents. Some of the Arab intellectuals, trained in Germany, were impressed by the trappings of Nazi might and victories.

Ten per cent of the nearly one million Arabs in Palestine are Christians; the rest are Mohammedans. Islam is a religion with a tradition of militancy in the spread of its faith. According to its tenets, Church and State are completely merged. Liberal religious tendencies, such as are found among Jews and Christians, have only recently begun to appear among the Moslems. The modern concept of separation of Church and State is unknown to the Moslems, except for those in the U.S.S.R. and Turkey (which was completely secularized by Kemal Ataturk following the First World War). The secular rulers are also the religious heads of Islam.

According to Moslem theology, anyone who dies for spreading the faith is rewarded with an attractive life in Paradise. Both Jews and Christians are looked upon as "unbelievers" who must not exercise any rule over "believers," and who must not even be allowed to enjoy equal rights. Jews are regarded with particular disdain because for many centuries they were subject to Mohammedan rule. The present unity between Mohammedan and Christian Arabs in Palestine to combat the establishment of the Jewish National Home is merely a marriage of convenience. Moslem zealots would not under normal circumstances associate with Christians, Arabs or otherwise, on a plane of equality.

We have seen in our own time how unscrupulous demagogues in many parts of the world exploit religion for political ends. Palestine has been no exception. The riots of 1929, for example, were precipitated by spreading the false accusation that the Jews were planning to take over or destroy the Mosque of Omar in Jerusalem, a holy place to Moslems.

The fact that the Mufti (now an agent of the Axis and residing in

Berlin) is both the religious and secular head of the Moslems of Palestine, is another factor which must be reckoned with, in any realistic appraisal of the problem of Palestine.

There are, moreover, significant psychological differences between Jews and Arabs in Palestine. Most Jews who settle there come from European lands and have been nurtured on western ideals and cultural values. In Palestine itself, however, most of the Arabs, except for a few European-educated effendis, a larger number educated at the American University in Beirut, and a small but growing middle class of professionals and businessmen, belong to a backward peasantry. Many Arabs are Bedouins (wanderers of the desert). Not only do the peasants dress differently from the Europeans and Americans, their habits and folkways are profoundly different. Polygamy, for instance, is sanctioned both by religion and custom. Women are treated as the inferiors of men. Tribal feuds persist, and personal revenge for real or alleged offenses is considered a matter of honor. Even the so-called westernized Arabs have not completely overcome some of their primitive tribal prejudices.

It is natural that Jews coming to Palestine, dressed in European clothes, firmly believing in equality of rights for men and women, and introducing radically different customs, should be considered foreigners by many Arabs. Arabs look upon the Jewish cooperative settlements with their practice of economic and social equality for both sexes as a pernicious foreign importation.

These differences between Western and Oriental attitudes and ways of living have been exploited by Arab nationalists who, for political reasons, have been anxious to provoke clashes between Arabs and Jews.

It is interesting to note that historically Islam was more tolerant of Judaism than was Christianity. This was especially true in the Middle Ages and in the early part of the modern age. But in recent years, even before the rise of political Zionism, there have been attacks by Arabs against Jews in many places, from Morocco in North Africa to Iraq, east of Transjordan. Even today as in Yemen, Arabs do not grant equality of rights to Jews and persecute the Jews within their borders. In North Africa, the Arabs have been infected with the virus of modern anti-Semitism, first by reactionary Frenchmen, and later by the Italians and Germans.

These facts indicate that though the attempt to build a Jewish

National Home has aggravated the situation in Palestine, Arab hostility to Jews is not exclusively a by-product of Zionism.

It would be wrong to assume, however, that all Arabs in Palestine are implacable enemies of the Jews. There have been many instances of friendly relations between Jews and Arabs. Of particular interest is the Palestine Labor League organized in 1927 to "unite all workers of Palestine regardless of religion, nationality or race, into one league." The League is constituted of autonomous national sections. The Arab ruling groups, increasingly nationalistic, have frowned upon all such attempts at Arab-Jewish rapprochement. Arab workers have frequently joined with Jewish workers to improve working conditions. Some Arab children attend Jewish schools. The Hebrew University is attended by some Arab students. These are some signs that an improvement in Arab-Jewish relations in Palestine is possible.

Prior to the assumption of power by the Mufti (who was appointed in 1921 by Sir Herbert Samuel, then High Commissioner), not all Arab leaders were hostile to Jewish settlement in Palestine. In fact, Emir Feisal, official spokesman of the Arab peoples at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, approved Zionist aspirations in a historic letter that he addressed in February, 1919, to Felix (now Associate Justice) Frankfurter. "Our deputation here in Paris," he wrote, "is fully acquainted with the proposals submitted yesterday by the Zionist Organization to the Peace Conference, and we regard them as moderate and proper." And he added: "We will do our best, in so far as we are concerned, to help them through; we will wish the Jews a most hearty welcome home."

What are the representative attitudes among the Arabs concerning an equitable solution of the Arab problem?

The extremist position is represented by the pan-Arab group known as Istiklal (meaning Independence). Founded in 1932, this group now led by Auni Abdul Hami advocates the complete independence of Palestine as an Arab state and its eventual adherence to an independent Arab Federation. It is opposed to British rule of the country, to the further entry of Jews, and to the existence of a sizeable Jewish minority in Palestine. Another group, the Palestine Arab Party, founded in 1935 by the former Mufti (Haj Amin el Husseini), demands not only the immediate establishment of an independent Arab state in Palestine, but also the deportation of

some of the Jewish population already in the country. Both these parties approve of terrorism as a method for winning independence and stopping Jewish immigration. The Mufti, now a Nazi-subsidized agitator in Berlin, was instrumental in organizing an Arab Legion, which was destroyed by the Red Army while fighting for the Axis on the Russian front. He was also a ringleader in the pro-Axis revolt in Iraq in 1941. After the war, he will no doubt suffer the fate of all fascist tools. His followers are still in Palestine and of late have become very active. In a series of memoranda sent to Arab states and Allied governments, the Husseinites have demanded that the whole of Palestine be declared an Arab state.

Though more moderate and opposed to the terrorist methods of the Mufti, the National Defense Party, founded in 1934 by Ragheb Bey Nashashibi, is similarly against the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine. The Party's constitution states that its aim is to achieve "the independence of Palestine with full Arab sovereignty," and advocates adherence by Britain to the White Paper. Also opposed to the extremists is the Reform Party headed by Fakhri El Khalidi which, though anti-Zionist in character, has leaned toward cooperation with the government.

Whereas Western Palestine has an area of only 10,429 square miles, Arab territories in the Near East and Asia comprise about 1,200,000 square miles; while in North Africa, Arabic speaking people have additional hundreds of thousands of square miles at their disposal. To the Zionist assertion that Arabs have so much territory that they could spare some space in Palestine for the Jews who have no national center, Arab nationalists reply that they will not give up or share even one square mile of their country. They want the Palestine Mandate nullified, Jewish immigration stopped, and Palestine declared an Arab national state or part of an Arab federation.

A small number of liberal Arabs who cooperate with the Histadrut does not share these anti-Zionist attitudes. Among these are a few who not only favor Arab-Jewish collaboration, but who visualize Palestine as a bi-national state. There are also some Arabs who favor collaboration with Jews on the basis of a permanent Jewish minority of about 40% in a bi-national state. Compared with the pro-Arab maximalist parties, this group is small. The personal efforts of Dr. Judah L. Magnes, President of the Hebrew University, to arrive at an agreement with Arab leaders in Palestine on the basis of minority status for Jews have thus far proved fruitless, if only be-

cause no responsible Arab leader has dared declare officially that he is in favor of such a settlement.

Those who favor some degree of Arab-Jewish cooperation are not organized and are much less articulate than the anti-Zionist elements. But all Arab political parties, ranging from the extremists to the moderates are united in their national demand for eventual independence and in their objection to Jewish immigration.

As things now stand the present-day Arab leaders in Palestine seem reluctant to negotiate on a program involving less than the complete cessation of Jewish immigration and the liquidation of the Jewish National Home. This may or may not be the point of view of the majority of the Arabs in Palestine today. The Jews have made and will no doubt continue to make strenuous efforts to come to terms with the more moderate Arabs. But the final disposition of this knotty problem will devolve upon the United Nations after the war.

PALESTINE AND THE NEAR EAST

Any realistic attempt to solve the political status of Palestine after the war involves a whole complex of factors operating in the Near East, of which Palestine is a part; for the future well-being of Palestine may well depend upon the security and welfare of its neighboring countries.

Palestine, as it is now, without Transjordan, has an area of 10,429 square miles with a population of approximately 1,600,000 persons, about one-third Jews and two-thirds Arabs. In area, it is comparable to the state of Vermont, while with Transjordan it approximates the state of Pennsylvania.

Transjordan, separated from Western Palestine in 1923, has an area of 34,000 square miles and a population of 300,000. It is ruled by the Emir Abdullah, son of the late Hussein, Sherif of Mecca. He was placed on the throne by the British in 1920.

Further to the east lies Iraq, which has a territory of 116,000 square miles and a population of about 3,000,000, more than two-thirds of whom are Moslems. Iraq is governed by the boy King Feisal II, great-grandson of Hussein of Mecca. In May, 1941, its Premier, Rashid Ali, staged a pro-Axis revolt against Britain, with whom Iraq had a treaty. The British thereupon occupied the land. In January, 1943, the new regime officially joined the United Nations.

To the north of Palestine is Syria, comprising 58,000 square miles with a population of 3,500,000. Until the outbreak of the present war it was a French mandated territory. On September 27, 1941, the Fighting French General Georges Catroux declared Syria an independent republic. Two months thereafter, Lebanon to the west, formerly part of Syria and with a population of 905,000, more than half of whom are Christians, was recognized as an independent republic.

To the south of Palestine is Saudi-Arabia, or the Kingdom of Hedjaz, largest of the Middle East territories, with 900,000 square miles (a great part of it desert) and a population of some 4,500,000. It is an independent state, ruled by a self-made, absolute monarch, King Ibn Saud. (Hence the name Saudi-Arabia.) He heads a fanatically militant Moslem sect called the Wahabis.

To the south of Saudi-Arabia lies Yemen, an independent state of 75,000 square miles and a population of 3,500,000. It is governed by a fanatical ruler, Imam Yahya, who was friendly to Fascist Italy until the British reconquered Ethiopia (Abyssinia).

On the Persian Gulf there is Oman, comprising 82,000 square miles with a population of 500,000, and having treaty relations with Britain. There are also a number of lesser principalities on the fringes of the Arabian Peninsula.

Egypt, with its population of 17,000,000 and its great Moslem University, Al-Azhar, in Cairo, is numerically the largest of the so-called Arab lands. The people of Egypt, however, prefer to be called Egyptians rather than Arabs.

Arabic-speaking peoples of diverse racial stock are also to be found throughout North Africa: in Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco.

In most of the above-mentioned countries, a long internal struggle has been in progress for many years between the more primitive nomadic elements and the settled population striving to establish a more modern life. The land in these countries is owned, for the most part, by feudal landlords indifferent to the best interests of their own people. The masses, on the whole, are illiterate and their agricultural tools and methods are extremely primitive. Living in backward communities under feudal conditions, they still retain an inherited respect for authority. In fact, such relative stability as exists in these lands has been brought about by the establishment of an absolute monarchy through conquest, as in the case of Saudi-

Arabia, or by the establishment and support of quasi-constitutional regimes through the intervention of strong European powers, as in the case of Iraq. Palestine and Syria, which have been under the rule of democratic Powers and which have enjoyed greater contact with the west, are unlike the other Near Eastern countries.

In modern times, the construction of the Suez Canal and of the two oil pipelines from Kirkuk in the Mosul oil field in Iraq to the Mediterranean outlets of Haifa (Palestine) and Tripoli (Lebanon), has increased the strategic importance of Palestine. The Suez Canal has frequently been described as "the life-line of the British Empire," for the greater part of the territory, population, and wealth of the Empire lies in India and immediately adjacent lands. The oil pipelines supply the fuel for the huge British fleet and merchant marine passing through the Suez Canal.

Of the modern nations, Britain, France, Germany, and Italy have had designs upon the Near East. Before World War I, the German Kaiser hoped to build a "Berlin to Baghdad" railroad in order to exploit the resources of the Near East. The secret Sykes-Picot Agreement between Britain and France in 1916 defined the spheres of influence in that region of these two allied countries. After the war, Syria was mandated to France, and Palestine and Iraq to Britain.

A number of countries on the fringes of the Near East are vitally interested in the political future of that whole region. Their own political status and ambitions exert a great influence upon political trends in the Near East. India, for instance, with its 70,000,000 Moslem population, must be considered in any realistic discussion of the future of Palestine. In November, 1942, the All-India Moslem League passed a resolution regretting that "in spite" of the declaration by the British that they were fighting for justice and the right of all nations to be independent, they were "trying to force Jewish domination over the Arabs." The resolution called on the British Government to "honor its pledges and to do justice to Arabs in Palestine," and assured the Arabs that Moslem India stood behind them in "their fight against domination by International Jewry."

Gandhi and some of the other Hindu nationalists have hitherto been unfriendly to Zionism. In fact, most of the Indian National Congress leaders have sided with the Indian Moslems on the question of Palestine. Great Britain has not been unaware of this trend.

Turkey is another country interested in the future status of the

Near East. Before the First World War, Palestine was part of the Turkish (or Ottoman) Moslem Empire. Since then, the New Turkey under Kemal Ataturk has become a westernized, secularized nation. Today Turkey, a neutral in the present war, is opposed to a strong Pan-Arab movement, fearing lest a successful Arab Federation diminish her own influence in the Near and Middle East. For this reason it is generally believed that Turkey is not unfavorably disposed to Jewish settlement in Palestine (in contrast to her attitude before World War I).

Undoubtedly the Soviet Union will be very influential at the coming Peace Table. Prior to the present war, the Soviet Union viewed Zionism as a tool of British imperialism. In the U.S.S.R., Zionism was long considered a counter-revolutionary movement. From the Communist point of view all Zionist groups were closely identified with Russian parties, whose continued existence was incompatible with Communist one-party dictatorship. Thus the General Zionists corresponded to the Russian liberals (Cadets or Constitutional Democrats of Milyukov); the Mizrachi to all other organized religious groups; the Poale Zion to the Russian Social Democrats and their Menshevik Right Wing. An anti-Zionist policy was also pursued by the Palestine Communist Party.

The common struggle waged against the fascist enemy by the Soviet Union and its allies, has for the first time brought about contact between the Jews of the U.S.S.R. and the Yishuv in Palestine. Some leaders of the Histadrut and other groups in Palestine have formed a "League for Soviet Russia," whose aim is to "increase the direct participation of Palestine in the aid given to Russia by the democracies in the fight against Fascism, and to enlist Russia's support for the national and social rehabilitation of the Jews in Palestine." These signs of growing collaboration between Soviet authorities and the Zionists are encouraging.

Though Russia (with 16,000,000 Moslems) has disavowed any territorial ambitions in the Near and Middle East, she has shown her increased interest by sending diplomatic representatives to practically every country in this area.

The name "Holy Land," synonymous with Palestine, underlines the religious importance that Land has for a large part of the world. To Jews, Palestine is their ancestral homeland, the cradle of their people and faith. The country is dotted with holy places dear to every Jew. The Land is holy to Christians too, and both Jews and

Christians have made countless pilgrimages to it throughout the centuries. The Mosque of Omar, which stands on the site of the Temple in Jerusalem, is sacred to the Moslems.

Many Christian organizations throughout the world have expressed their sympathy with Zionist aspirations in Palestine. In America, one of the outstanding pro-Zionist Christian organizations is the "Christian Council on Palestine," composed of 500 distinguished Christian clergymen and laymen. Expressions of sympathetic support have also come from most democratic countries. In Palestine, however, some Christian missionaries working among the Arabs have at times supported the Arabs against the Jews.

In any post-war solution of the political status of Palestine, the United Nations will have to give due consideration to the status of the holy places.

PROPOSED PLANS FOR PALESTINE

Many proposals have been advanced for solving the political status of Palestine after the war. They should be examined in the light of the immensity of the Jewish tragedy in Europe, the need for migration, the solemn promise of a Jewish National Home in Palestine expressed in the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate, and the conflicting interests in the Holy Land.

Most Zionists would like Palestine to develop eventually into an autonomous Jewish State or Commonwealth with a Jewish majority, in which the Arabs would enjoy complete civic equality as well as religious and cultural minority rights. In fact, some Zionists advocate permanent political parity between Jews and Arabs in the future government of Palestine, irrespective of numbers. Zionists point to the democratic character of the Yishuv, its strong labor movement, its well-developed educational system and health agencies. They insist that the phrase a "Jewish National Home" means the granting of self-government to the Jews in Palestine through the establishment of a Jewish State or Commonwealth. Revisionists and members of the Jewish State Party insist on a Jewish State on both sides of the Jordan.

Most Zionists, in fact, are not reconciled to a permanent separation of Transjordan from Western Palestine. They want a "Jewish Commonwealth" in Palestine—as expressed in the official Zionist Platform (the Biltmore Declaration of May 17, 1942). The word

"Commonwealth" may seem ambiguous, for it is applied to such varied political organizations as the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and the British Commonwealth of Nations. But its use by Zionists is intentional, for they mean to indicate thereby that unlike the Revisionists, they do not insist on the immediate establishment of a sovereign Jewish State. What they do insist upon is the establishment of a self-governing Jewish community in Palestine with control over immigration and enjoying the right to become a majority. They realize that the post-war world situation, especially in the Near and Middle East, will remain confused for some time to come. In using the term "Jewish Commonwealth," they admit of several alternatives in the future status of Palestine—it might become a 'Seventh Dominion' in the British Empire, or a member in an Arab or Near East Federation, or possibly an independent Jewish State.

There are those who advocate a bi-national state, with Palestine as the home of two nationalities, Jewish as well as Arab, each retaining complete autonomy. There are several variations of this type of solution.

Some would divide Palestine geographically into two parts with well-defined boundaries. One plan calls for the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine, including Transjordan, composed of two sister states, Jewish and Arab, and united by a Federal Council presided over by the British High Commissioner. The latter would have jurisdiction over Nazareth, Bethlehem, and Old Jerusalem, the cities which contain holy places. According to this plan, the Jews would constitute the majority of the population in the Jewish State, with exclusive control over internal affairs, including immigration. Similar provisions would apply to the Arab State. Reciprocal rights would be accorded to the minorities within each State.

Others would divide Palestine into a number of cantons or districts, each enjoying a large measure of administrative autonomy, but federated in a central bi-national Government.

There have been no endorsements of these plans by official Zionist organizations.

The Hashomer Hatzair, a left-wing halutz organization advocates a bi-national state for Palestine, which is not based on any geographical divisions. It advocates an understanding with the Arabs of

Palestine based upon permanent political parity, regardless of the numerical relations between the two peoples, but with agreement by the Arabs that Jews may eventually constitute a majority. It believes that there should be neither limitation of immigration nor any political domination by one people over the other. Hashomer Hatzair is also in favor of Palestine becoming part of a Near East Federation.

Those who feel that the formation of a Jewish Commonwealth or a bi-national state in Palestine is bound up with some form of Near East or Arab Federation, assert that Palestine is logically part of the Near East, and would benefit both politically and economically if it joined such a Federation.

There are several variants of this plan. One calls for a Federation of Near Eastern States, including at the outset Palestine, Syria, Turkey, and possibly Greece. Another calls for an Arab Federation to include Palestine, Transjordan, Iraq, Saudi-Arabia, Yemen, Oman, etc. Still another calls for a larger Confederation, which would unite all Arab countries, including Egypt and French North Africa.

Proponents of this first type—a Near East Federation—maintain that basically there is a greater affinity between the countries bordering on the Mediterranean than between any one of them and the primitive Arabic hinterland. An Arab Federation, they maintain, would be more subject to exploitation by western imperialism, because of the primitive condition of the Arab countries, whereas a Near East Federation could be more independent. Furthermore, a Near East Federation, composed, as it would be, of diverse nationalities, would provide better social and economic conditions for its Christian and Jewish members than would an Arab Federation, dominated completely by Moslem peoples. At the same time they envisage the eventual inclusion of other Arab states in such a Federation after they become more westernized.

The second proposed type, that of an Arab Federation, is more frequently discussed. Presumably it enjoys the support of Great Britain. Such a Federation would include Palestine and her neighbors—Syria, Iraq, Saudi-Arabia, and Transjordan. Jewish proponents of this plan feel that the Arabs would more readily come to an understanding with the Jews if such a Federation were organized, in which Palestine would be but a single, small unit. Thus, Arab-

Jewish friction, which is intensified within the small area of Palestine, would be greatly reduced within a larger territorial area. Politically, it is argued, membership in such a Federation would tend to allay the fears of the Palestinian Arabs that they would be ruled by a Jewish majority, since within a Federation of Arab States the Arabs would obviously remain in a decisive majority, and would be able to protect their own minority in Palestine. Unrestricted Jewish immigration would then, it is believed, cease to be a source of friction between Jews and Arabs. Economically too, it is pointed out, Palestine would benefit from membership in such a Federation, since the Arab hinterland would furnish an extensive market for Palestine's industrial products.

It should be noted that among the Arabs there is considerable opposition to any Near East federation schemes. In the past year, a number of conferences held at Cairo to strengthen the Pan-Arab movement, have met with little success. The Lebanese government, zealous of its newly won sovereignty, has vigorously opposed the incorporation of the Republic of Lebanon in a proposed Greater Syrian Confederation composed of Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, and Transjordan. Lebanese objections also stem from the fact that Christians, who constitute a bare majority in Lebanon, are fearful of being submerged in a large Moslem state.

The extreme pan-Arabs would like to see a Confederation of all Arab countries, including the whole of North Africa.

Instead of setting up an all-inclusive Federation immediately, some proponents of the Federation plan would lay the basis for such a future organization by first establishing a customs union between Palestine, Transjordan, Syria, and Lebanon, and later extending it to other countries.

Zionists are generally skeptical about Federation schemes. A Near East Federation, they say, would be very difficult to achieve, while an Arab Federation presents certain dangers. In a Federation, the separate constituent states would have to yield certain attributes of sovereignty to a central body, and this might mean that the Jews would have to give up the right to control Jewish immigration to Palestine. At the same time, Palestine would not be able to prevent the incursion of Arabs from other member-States of the Federation, thus making difficult, if not impossible, the attainment of a Jewish majority in Palestine. Yet this is a condition Zionists consider in-

dispensable for the establishment of the Jewish National Home.

Zionists hold that the entry of Palestine into a Federation of any type is acceptable only on the express condition that it will be recognized as a Jewish State or unit, which will have not only a Jewish majority, but also a Jewish administration. They also insist upon broad autonomy of the individual member states within the Federation; and that there should be federal control only in previously agreed-upon spheres.

Dr. Judah L. Magnes, President of the Hebrew University in Palestine, has recently reaffirmed his belief in a bi-national state in Palestine, based on parity with respect to population and political rights. This State would become a member of a Federation of Near Eastern States, including Transjordan, Syria, and Lebanon. The inclusion of Palestine in such a Federation would, in the opinion of Dr. Magnes, be an effective guarantee of enlarged immigration. This Federation would then join the Anglo-American Union, which will itself be a constituent of a World Federation.

This is the point of view of the Ihud (Unity) organization with which Dr. Magnes is closely associated. Though small in number, it includes important personalities in Palestine. The Ihud has issued a statement in which it demands uninterrupted immigration and expresses opposition to the Yishuv remaining a perpetual minority.

Before the war, Colonel Josiah C. Wedgewood, a member of the British Parliament, advocated that the Jewish National Home in Palestine become a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations as a 'Seventh Dominion,' possessing the same freedom as do the other British Dominions—Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Union of South Africa, and the Irish Free State.

The advocates of a Jewish Commonwealth or of a Jewish-Arab Commonwealth in Palestine within the British Commonwealth of Nations claim that the Jewish National Home (whether as a Jewish State or part of a bi-national state) would then be politically, economically, and militarily secure.

There are those who believe that Britain, the Mandatory Power for Palestine, has failed to carry out the Mandate, especially her commitment to facilitate the achievement of a Jewish National Home. In fact, the Peel Royal Commission of 1937 reported on the Mandate's "unworkability." Therefore, it is argued, the task of

supervising the building of the Jewish National Home should be entrusted to another Power or a combination of Powers after the war.

Those who prefer the U. S. A. as the new Mandatory Power point out that the United States, with no previous commitments to any groups in the Near East, is ideally suited to take over the Mandate. This suggestion was first made in 1917, but was rejected by American statesmen and Zionist leaders. It was felt at the time that the United States would lend a more willing ear to Jewish demands because of American disinterest in that area, whereas Great Britain could not dissociate herself so readily from her imperialist interests, particularly in view of the large number of Moslems in India and in other British possessions, and in view of British Government support of an Arab Federation.

This no longer holds true. The government of the U. S. A. has begun to display an increasing interest in the Arab countries of the Near and Middle East. The Arab states, speculating on these sentiments, have been encouraged to believe that America would be more amenable to Arab demands.

Others maintain that because the fate of Palestine concerns Christians and Moslems as well as Jews, a United Nations commission be constituted to govern that land until it can stand on its own feet as an independent state, commonwealth, or part of a federation.

The advantage of such a commission, it is argued, lies in the fact that Palestine would then cease to be a pawn of imperialist rivalries, but would be impartially supervised in the interest of both Jews and Arabs. There are some who envisage such an international commission for the whole of the Near East.

Revisionist Zionists have proposed that an agreement be concluded between the Jewish people and the Arab people (not the Jews and Arabs of Palestine) providing for an exchange of populations. Those Arabs in Palestine who would prefer to live in a purely Arab State should be transferred to one of the rich and underpopulated Arab territories in the Near East, preferably Iraq, which is badly in need of manpower for its large-scale projects of irrigation and development. On the other hand, Jews who live in the Arab countries should be allowed to move to Palestine. This project, it is pointed out, does not entail a unilateral transfer of Arabs, but a Jewish-Arab exchange of populations, since many hundred thou-

sands of Jews now living in Arab lands could be transferred to Palestine. Transfer of Arabs as a solution has also been espoused by the British Labour Party (December 1944).

CONCLUSION

While some of the proposed plans with reference to Palestine recommend a change in the Mandatory, it is generally assumed by Zionists and non-Zionists alike that after the war Great Britain will retain her interest in the Near East.

Jews are bitterly disappointed that Britain is adhering strictly to the provisions of the 1939 White Paper. They believe, however, that despite the setbacks they have suffered, the long-standing friendship between them and the British people holds out hope that the stringent White Paper policy of 1939 will be abolished or at least sufficiently modified to permit mass immigration of Jews into Palestine after the war. The fact that Prime Minister Winston Churchill was an early proponent of Jewish statehood in Palestine and that he, together with other leading statesmen in Britain and elsewhere, vigorously opposed the 1939 White Paper, encourages Jews to believe in a more auspicious future for Palestine.

Jews point to the achievements of the Yishuv, including its capacity to absorb thousands of Jewish refugees and to help them reconstruct their lives. They hope that the Arabs will come to recognize the high spiritual motives that have prompted Jews to establish a National Home in Palestine, as well as the urgent need for that Home. Certainly, an absence of fascist propaganda should make it easier for Arabs and Jews to live side by side and work together in amity and tranquillity, particularly if the British Government sees fit to help them in this noble objective.

Presumably a new world organization will be established by the United Nations after the war. Such an organization will be called upon to decide the fate of the colonies and mandated lands. Jews and many non-Jews hope that in view of the overwhelming Jewish tragedy in Europe, the important role that Palestine can play will be fully recognized by the United Nations, and immigration into Palestine greatly facilitated. Zionists hope that the declaration of sympathy with the upbuilding of a Jewish National Home as expressed in the Balfour Declaration will be implemented by international action.

The foregoing presentation has shown that the problem of Palestine bristles with difficulties. But there is reason to hope that the forces of good will and cooperation will succeed in overcoming these difficulties and that, in the words of the Bible, Zion will be "redeemed with justice, and they that return of her with righteousness."

VI

RELIEF, RECONSTRUCTION, AND MIGRATION

. . . O ye dry bones, hear the word of the Lord: Thus saith the Lord God unto these bones: Behold, I will cause breath to enter into you, and ye shall live. And I will lay sinews upon you, and will bring flesh upon you, and cover you with skin, and put breath in you, and ye shall live; and ye shall know that I am the Lord.

—Ezekiel, XXXVII, 4-6.

INTERNATIONAL political cooperation among the United Nations, especially the four major partners—the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and China—is essential to the maintenance of peace. A durable peace will depend not only on the political shape of the post-war world, but also on the economic and social patterns evolved. These patterns will determine the rehabilitation of the Jewish victims of war through relief, economic reconstruction, and migration.

Such rehabilitation generally falls into two categories: (1) resettling individual Jews and Jewish communities in their former homes or present places of exile; and (2) assisting those individuals who will be unable or unwilling to re-establish themselves in their present or pre-war domiciles to emigrate to other countries.

We have emphasized a number of times that all our planning on post-war problems is based upon the assumption that international cooperation between the United Nations will prevail in the post-war era.

A world order based on international cooperation would provide the political framework for Jewish equality and the progressive abolition of anti-Semitism, which, in turn, would make large-scale ameliorative action for Jews feasible. Jews might be able to regain in some measure the properties, funds, and positions lost through

the operation of anti-Jewish laws, or because of the vicissitudes of war.

An expanding economic order, providing an ever-rising standard of living, will make for general prosperity that will benefit Jews as well as others. Moreover, the abolition of poverty, unemployment, and economic instability, generally acknowledged to be the major contributory factors to anti-Semitism, will make the results of reconstruction more enduring. Opportunities will then be open for regulated migration of masses of people, Jews and non-Jews alike, to economically undeveloped regions.

Nevertheless, there will remain many difficulties in restoring poverty-stricken Jewish populations to normal life. What is likely to be the situation of the Jews in the war-torn areas immediately following the victory of the United Nations?

Hitler's domination of Europe has brought with it destruction and grief on a scale unparalleled in history. His war of conquest has already cost the lives of millions of soldiers and civilians. Many countries have been overrun and whole peoples enslaved. Executions, starvation, and disease have become synonymous with Nazi rule.

But the plight of the Jews of Europe surpasses in tragedy anything that has befallen the enslaved countries. Hitler has subjugated entire nations, but he does not plan to destroy them completely. The Nazi war machine is making full use of the labor which the populations of the conquered nations can supply. The latest available estimates place the number of foreign workers in Germany at 12,000,000 out of a total labor force of 29,000,000. This includes prisoners of war and persons of twenty-one nationalities, most of whom are parceled out to German land-owners as though they were slaves. To the general European population, however, the present Nazi tyranny means but a temporary enslavement certain to end with the liberation of the continent.

The situation is quite different with the Jews of Europe. The material basis of their existence has been shattered by confiscation and outright robbery. The majority of the Jews in Europe no longer reside in the places where they lived in 1939. Jews from almost all of Europe have been deported to the Nazi-occupied Polish and Soviet provinces.

At least a million and a half Jews in Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, the Ukraine, and White Russia—regions formerly belonging to or

incorporated into the Soviet Union—were caught in 1941 in the trap of the suddenly advancing German armies. Thousands, principally from Hungary and Rumania, were forced to work in labor battalions on the Russian front. And this is not all. Over the heads of thousands of Jews still in areas controlled by the Germans hangs the sentence of complete annihilation. Children, old people, and invalids have been massacred outright. The able-bodied have been compelled to do the meanest and most physically taxing labor. Some have worked as virtual slaves of the owners in Nazi factories. Still others have worked for the Nazi war machine in labor camps or on Hitler's fortifications.

The consequences of the food situation in the occupied countries are already evident. The health of whole peoples has been affected, their physical and moral strength sapped. The effect upon the Jews is even more terrible to contemplate. The great majority of the European Jews slowly starved to death on reduced rations. Among the Jewish community of Warsaw the death rate in 1941 is reported to have been 10 times greater than before the war, having risen from 9.7 per thousand in 1936 to 9 per hundred in 1941. In the Jewish children's hospitals 23 per cent of the patients died in the first half of 1941. According to Polish government sources, the daily food ration of a German at the end of 1941 was equivalent to 2,500 calories, while a Warsaw Pole received 981 calories. Jews at that time were reduced to a diet of only 260 calories! And these standards prevailed before the Nazis began their real war of extermination against the Polish Jews, so tragically illustrated by the confirmed death toll of more than a million Jews in only one of many concentration camps, that of Maidanek near Lublin.

The only intact Jewish communities on the European continent are those in Switzerland, Sweden, Turkey, Portugal, and the unoccupied regions of the Soviet Union. The suffering of the Jews in the Soviet Union has been especially great in combat areas, where the plight of the general population has been equally serious. This was true particularly in besieged Leningrad, with an estimated Jewish population of over 200,000. Almost half a million Jews from Soviet-occupied Poland, many of whom refused to accept Soviet citizenship, escaped Nazi rule by their removal to the Asiatic regions of the U.S.S.R. in 1940. In addition, it is likely that over a million Jews from the Nazi-occupied regions of the Soviet Union have managed to escape to the Soviet hinterland.

In the light of these facts, it can be seen that European Jewry will emerge from this war greatly impoverished, undermined in health, and drastically reduced in numbers. Some pessimists even venture to predict the complete doom of all the Jews under Nazi rule.

APPROACHES TO THE RECONSTRUCTION OF JEWISH LIFE IN THE POST-WAR WORLD

While few question special Jewish needs for relief, opinions have occasionally been expressed that no special efforts will be needed to render relief to Jews in Europe and other war-stricken areas or to help them reconstruct their lives in a post-war world based on international cooperation. A social order founded on equality and democracy, it is held, would automatically apply the benefits of relief and economic reconstruction to Jews and non-Jews alike.

As previously pointed out, those who so regard Jewish post-war problems are not realistic. It is possible that strong residues of anti-Semitism will remain among the populations of Europe. Even those observers who feel that this residual anti-Semitism will not of itself be sufficient to cause great harm to the European Jewish community, warn that in the event of our failure to achieve an expanding economy, active anti-Semitism will flare up again. Special efforts will be required to protect Jewish rights in specific areas and to educate against bigotry. There is a danger that those planning for the world of the future may disregard Jewish problems, unless made aware of them.

There is no complete agreement among Jews either on the advisability or the methods of permanently reconstructing the life of the Jews in Europe and other war areas. Opinion is divided along two lines: There are those who believe that reconstruction can and should be achieved primarily or exclusively through the emigration of Jews; others who hold that the task of reconstruction is primarily to restore Jews to useful and productive economic functions in the places where they lived before the outbreak of the war or where they are residing today.

Those advocating emigration hold that the poverty of Europe and the difficulties of restoring normal economic life following the war

will be so great that it will be impossible to achieve any basic economic reconstruction without the emigration abroad of millions of people, non-Jews and Jews. The greater impoverishment of the Jews, intensified by difficulties in regaining their economic positions, taken over by some elements in the local populations (for the Germans are not the only ones who have benefited from the change in ownership), will make emigration more attractive for them. Any rekindled anti-Semitism will aggravate the situation. Furthermore, advocates of emigration hold that many, possibly the majority of the surviving Jews will prefer, because of psychological and emotional reasons, to emigrate, rather than remain where they now happen to be or return to their former homes. Still other Jews will want to join their relatives in the Americas, Palestine, the Soviet Union, and other lands overseas.

Zionists advance the additional argument that large numbers of Jews, preferring to live in a completely Jewish milieu, will choose to go to Palestine in order to assure Jewish group survival by building their own National Home. This sentiment, they say, is bound to grow because the decimation of the Jewish population and the general social trends favoring assimilation make it impossible to restore the former cultural and religious centers in Europe. While most other Zionists urge a solution by large-scale but not total emigration, Revisionist Zionists go further and advocate complete evacuation of Jews, at least from Eastern Europe. But Zionists are not the only proponents of the emigrationist solution.

The Territorialists' search for territories outside of Palestine, is based on reasons similar to those of the Zionists. But they feel that Palestine cannot accommodate the large number of potential Jewish emigrants. Finally, there are the philanthropically minded Jews motivated by humanitarian, rather than ideological reasons.

Those who favor "reconstruction on the spot" envisage the permanent readjustment of Jewish life in the countries where Jews resided before the war or where they will be living at the close of hostilities. The advocates of this solution advance both practical and ideological reasons. They hold that it will be impossible to find room for millions of prospective Jewish emigrants if the overseas countries continue their present general policy of restricting immigration. They also point to the anti-migration tendencies shown at the Bermuda Conference for the solution of the refugee problem, held in May, 1943. Moreover, government leaders of certain nations

hold that the problem of the Jews in Europe ought to be settled by granting them complete equality rather than by emigration. Sir Herbert Emerson, League of Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and Director of the Intergovernmental Committee for Refugees, has stated that 95% of the 20,000,000 displaced human beings will return to their homes after the war. Those in favor of reconstruction on the spot also doubt that the Holy Land will be capable of receiving large numbers, even were the White Paper policy on Palestine changed.

Anti-emigrationists argue that the Jews, as citizens of the countries in which they resided, have no more right to seek relief by emigration than non-Jews in the same communities. The acceptance by Jews of the emigrationist solution would be equivalent to approving the anti-Semitic conception of the Jews as perpetual strangers, for whom there was no place or status in Europe. It would seriously reflect on the position of Jews in the free countries and would be tantamount to an ideological victory of Hitlerism after the military defeat of Nazi Germany. Another less frequently advanced anti-emigrationist opinion is that Jews have a mission to return to their former countries and help in the restoration of democracy and freedom.

But most thinking on the post-war reconstruction of Jews is not limited to the choice between the extreme alternatives of (1) total evacuation or large-scale emigration; or (2) that the Jews of Europe either remain wherever they may be at the end of hostilities or return to their former homes. Representative Jewish and non-Jewish authorities advocate a middle-of-the-road approach, leaving the choice to the people directly concerned. They hold that those surviving Jews who, for whatever reasons, may prefer to reconstruct their lives by emigration, ought to receive full opportunity to do so. Other Jews who may wish either to remain wherever they happen to be or to return to their former countries should be equally entitled to make their own choice. Their rights, moreover, should be fully protected, and they should receive all the help needed for their economic adjustment. No one should be forced to live anywhere against his will.

This, in brief, is the point of view accepted by most Jewish thinkers on post-war problems; it appears most frequently in resolutions passed by Jewish organizations. Before dealing with the subject of

migrations, let us return to the question of relief, rehabilitation, and reconstruction.

PROBLEMS OF RELIEF PERIOD

The physical and economic situation of the Jews who survive the war in Europe and other areas will require far-reaching measures of reconstruction. The practical difficulties of feeding, clothing, and supplying medical relief and shelter seem small in the face of the larger task of rehabilitating these war victims and turning them into healthy human beings capable of earning their own livelihoods.

The job of reconstructing the lives of the war victims, Jews and non-Jews alike, is generally divided into two periods. The first is the period of immediate relief, when the starved populations of Europe, especially in the war zones, will require food, clothing, shelter, and health facilities. The second period involves the basic problems of reconstruction: planned restoration of normal economic conditions, increases in production, and a rise in the standards of living.

The subject people of Europe, ill-clad and ill-housed, will have to be supplied with clothing and shelter. New and second-hand clothing will have to be shipped in large quantities; advantage may be taken of surplus military stocks. As for housing in the ruined and bombed-out areas, even to provide temporary shelters will require much energy and extensive resources.

The prevention of epidemics, particularly cholera and typhus, will require a huge medical personnel, as well as the importation of serums, sulfa drugs, and other medical supplies on a large scale. The threat of an increase in tuberculosis will have to be faced. Vitamins will have to be supplied to overcome diseases resulting from food deficiencies.

Years of war have caused increasing dislocation and destruction to transportation facilities in Europe, including railroads, waterways, and ports. It is quite possible therefore that immediately following hostilities none of these facilities will suffice to meet the needs of both import and internal traffic. This situation will probably improve once the European population under the guidance of the United Nations begins to repair the damages. But since it may be necessary to halt or restrict civilian migration and non-relief ship-

ping until sufficient facilities are made available, the expected large-scale repatriation of prisoners of war and refugees may have to be postponed or carried out by degrees. The magnitude of the task of post-war planning can be gauged by the difficulties involved in solving this arduous problem, which is but one of many.

From the recent experiences of the United Nations in French and Italian North Africa, Italy, and France, it is evident that relief authorities will accompany or follow in the wake of the invading forces of the United Nations. These relief authorities will begin at once the task of distributing food and clothing and of protecting the health of the exhausted and undernourished populations.

Experts in this field maintain that the first step in this feeding process will be the distribution of energy foods in large quantities to restore both the physical and mental health of the starved populations. On September 24, 1941, an Inter-Allied Committee on post-war requirements was constituted in London with special advisory Committees on nutrition, agriculture, medical services, and inland transport. Sir Frederick Leith-Ross, its chairman, presented to the UNRRA [United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration] the official report of the minimum import needs of foodstuffs, raw materials, and articles of prime necessity for the first six months after liberation of each territory. The foodstuffs that will have to be shipped to Europe reach such figures as 659,000 tons for Czechoslovakia, 918,000 for Greece, 1,330,000 for France, 1,705,000 for Poland, 803,000 for Yugoslavia. If oils and fats and feed for livestock are included, 2,250,000 additional tons are needed. With clothing, machinery, seeds, and basic raw materials for the production of prime necessities, transport requirements will call for nearly 46,000,000 tons of shipping. These figures are not comprehensive, for they do not include Russia or the Far East; nor do they offer a margin for normal development beyond the immediate relief of dire and distressing needs.

The job of feeding Europe during this period of subsistence relief will not be solely that of the overseas countries. European agriculture will have to be restored as soon as possible to its normal productive capacity. Additional efforts will have to be made to improve and vary European agriculture, which in pre-war years was hampered by the backward agricultural and political policies of certain

states. Furthermore, the war has ruined the major European food producing areas. According to the Soviet representatives at the United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture held in May, 1943, in Hot Springs, Va., the Soviet Union, one of the major food producing countries before the present war, will require assistance in supplying food for "a considerable period of time" after the war.

Proper planning requires the importation of huge quantities of seed, fertilizers, agricultural machinery, draft animals, and oil for the tractors so that the second harvest after the cessation of hostilities should be able to supply Europe with a large portion of the requisite food. Large numbers of animals and fowls for breeding together with fodder will have to be imported, because livestock has been depleted either through Nazi confiscation or sabotage by resisting patriots. Since the least costly way of obtaining food is to grow it on the spot, plans have been formulated for the rapid introduction of large-scale mechanized agriculture in areas near Europe such as Iraq and Transjordan. Shortages in food and difficulties in administration may make it necessary for the relief administrators to continue food rationing for some time to come after the war.

There is a general agreement among relief authorities that the task of feeding Europe in the post-war era will be too great to be carried out merely on the basis of available food. The cooperation of the populations in the overseas countries will be required, and those in the food-producing countries will have to share their food crops with the starved peoples of Europe. This will obviously require a sympathetic approach to the problem on the part of the peoples of the United States, Canada, Argentina, and other countries. A poll conducted in England late in 1942 (and reported here on January 15, 1943) revealed that 79% of the population of Great Britain expressed a willingness to have the present strict rationing system continued as long as necessary after the war, in order to help the peoples on the continent. A poll of American opinion (June, 1943) on retaining the rationing system for five years to help feed starving people in other countries showed 82% favoring such a proposal.

Planning for the distribution of subsistence relief began with the Preliminary Wheat Agreement signed in the Spring of 1942 by the United States, Canada, Argentina, and Australia, the four major wheat producing nations. These signatories agreed to set up a pool

of 100,000,000 bushels of wheat to be utilized for intergovernmental relief, and have arranged to furnish food free, whenever and wherever necessary.

On November 9th, 1943, a more hopeful pattern for international collaboration appeared in the establishment of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, comprising 44 signatory nations. In an address to Congress on the scope of the UNRRA, President Roosevelt declared that "the task of the organization will be to assist in furnishing the medicine, food, clothing and other basic necessities and essential services which are required to restore the strength of the liberated peoples." UNRRA's concern will be with immediate needs such as food, fuel, clothing, shelter, and medical supplies, and not with the general post-war reorganization of Europe and Asia.

Relief supplies will be allocated and transported according to the decision of the Council, and great care is to be exercised to prevent supplies from being used as a political weapon—"no discrimination shall be made in the distribution of supplies because of race, creed or political belief." An element of flexibility was introduced by the recommendation that relief be distributed fairly, on the basis of the relative needs of the population in a given area. There is also another provision that "in determining the relative needs of the population, there be taken into account the diverse needs caused by discriminatory treatment by the enemy during its occupation of that area." This would make it possible for UNRRA to give priority to supplies for the Jews in Poland, for example, or to civilian hostages in all Nazi-occupied countries.

It was generally agreed that the responsibility for distribution of relief within a given area should be borne "by the government or recognized national authority which exercises administrative authority in that area." Most governments prefer to handle the distribution of supplies through their own channels, for they feel that they have sufficient personnel and adequate machinery to undertake this task.

The problem of displaced persons loomed large in the deliberations of the UNRRA Council. It was finally decided that UNRRA should assist not only in repatriating citizens of the various United Nations to their countries of origin, but also in returning United Nations nationals and stateless persons who have been driven as a result of the war from their places of settled residence in coun-

tries of which they are not nationals, to those places. This provision would empower UNRRA, for example, to arrange for the return to Burma, Malaya, or the Philippines of Chinese residing in those areas before the war, instead of automatically repatriating them to China; and to return stateless Jews and Russians to countries other than those of their origin.

The total cost of UNRRA operations for a contemplated two-year period is estimated at between two and two and a half billion dollars. Contributions will be on the basis of one percent of a country's 1943 national income, and the United States will contribute about 60 percent (probably \$1,135,000,000), the United Kingdom 15 percent (about \$320,000,000). It should be pointed out that in the period 1917-1921 the United States, through private contributions and government grants, contributed over two billion dollars to the relief of war-torn Europe.

UNRRA has also indicated that it considers voluntary agencies a most important source of personnel to carry out its work, particularly where individuals or members of a family group are involved. This is especially relevant for the Jews in Europe who will survive the war, for this provision has been interpreted to mean that Jewish welfare agencies will be able to specify that their relief funds be used to help Jewish war victims in Europe. UNRRA has indicated that it will make no special provisions for handling Jewish war victims in liberated territories. It was felt that appropriate plans for dealing with specific Jewish problems can be worked out within each nation. The fear was expressed that for UNRRA to undertake to give the Jews such special treatment, might in the long run react to the Jews' own disadvantage. At the same time, it is generally conceded that routine methods applicable to the afflicted populations will prove sorely inadequate as far as the Jews are concerned, since they have suffered and are suffering most at the hands of the Nazis.

In the Jewish population centers of Eastern Europe the Jews occupied the lowest place in the Nazi scheme of food rationing, their food allowance being but twenty percent of their normal requirement of calories. Poles, on the other hand, received about sixty-one percent of the normal requirement; the French received fifty-five percent. Jews will thus require special treatment in order to restore them to normal health.

We shall not be able to count much on East-European Jewish self-help in the matter of food, because not many Jews have been farm-

ers, and because German occupation has completely dislocated Jewish life. Moreover, the organization of local relief committees in the various communities will be of little use to Jews if proper steps are not taken by the administrators to avoid discrimination, such as occurred in Poland following World War I. This can be done by assuring Jewish representation on such bodies and by making certain that anti-Semitic elements are not represented. It must also be remembered that in most places Jews have been accustomed to a great degree of self-sufficiency in social services. In local communities where Jews may prefer to run their own food kitchens and relief activities, with the assistance of the general relief organization, they should receive an opportunity to do so.

One of the gravest problems will be that of restoring the physical and mental health of the Jewish children. Planned starvation, the denial of medical care, and the absence of body-building foods have permanently affected an entire Jewish generation. Jewish children have suffered wholesale expulsion from public schools and the loss of Jewish educational institutions. Nor can this problem be solved merely by applying the general relief formula. (The number of Jewish war orphans and homeless children following World War I, for instance, was estimated at between 150,000 and 200,000, and the figure is far higher this time.) To recuperate properly, these child victims must be brought up in a Jewish environment where their reintegration into society will be directed by competent Jewish personnel. Special homes will be needed for the treatment of war shocked Jewish orphans, who must undergo prolonged psychological therapy.

Physical and mental diseases are also likely to be rampant among the adult Jews in Europe. Recuperation and cure can best be provided in Jewish institutions, where medical and service staffs are acquainted with the language and background of the patients.

The problem of feeding Orthodox Jews cannot be solved without giving proper consideration to their religious Kashrut practices. The Shehitah prohibitions prevalent throughout the occupied countries will have to be abolished immediately if observant Jews are to benefit from improved food conditions. Similarly, registration for the receipt or distribution of food on the Jewish Sabbath and holidays, would be considered an act of discrimination by most of the Jews.

The problem of repatriation also presents a number of specific

Jewish aspects. According to estimates, there are now more than 21,500,000 homeless or displaced persons scattered over the continent of Europe. Perhaps as many as 30,000,000 will have to be dealt with when the war is over. Almost all the Jews in Europe will have been uprooted and shifted about before the end of the war.

The task of repatriating Jews will be rendered immensely difficult by the fact that it will constitute only part of a general population movement of unprecedented magnitude. Poles constitute the largest group of displaced nationals, 8,161,707 Poles having been moved away from their homes to other parts of the country. In Germany, as already noted, there are at least twelve million foreign workers and prisoners of war. No doubt all of these uprooted peoples will want to return to their homes as quickly as possible. But speedy repatriation seems quite unlikely, for it is reported that the Allied military authorities believe that seven months will elapse before French prisoners of war can be repatriated from Germany. Territorial changes resulting from the war may lead to additional large-scale shifts of population.

The migration of these masses will have to be carefully organized and controlled. One plan has already been drawn up and is being operated by United States Army officials in Italy. Since this may well be a model for organization in other territories, it bears close examination.

Roughly, the plan now in the hands of the United States Army officials is as follows: As soon as an invasion of territory on the Continent occurs, provost marshals are responsible for policing the resident population, including prisoners of war and all other displaced persons.

Two sections under the Civil Affairs Organization of the military command are then organized, one for displaced Allied nationals and the other for displaced nationals of the invaded country.

In the initial stages of the occupation it is the responsibility of these committees to register and identify all Allied nationals and neutrals, arrange food, shelter, and medical care if necessary, and find employment for them, if possible, after their loyalty and trustworthiness are assured.

When the military commander decides that civilians can be permitted to enter a war zone, a great deal of this work will be turned over to officials of the Department of State and of the UNRRA, who with the aid of national committees will then arrange for relief

work and eventually the repatriation of displaced nationals to their countries of origin.

The most difficult aspect of the problem of Jewish rehabilitation and resettlement will be that of the Jews stranded in Poland, Rumania, and the occupied Soviet regions. It is too early to suggest methods for the solution of this question. But if any priorities are to be introduced within the process of repatriation, justice demands that special consideration be given to the enfeebled masses of the ghettos, concentration camps, and labor camps.

In the opinion of specialists in the field, a mass movement of this type must be carried out on a planned group basis, for repatriation on an individual basis would cause general confusion bordering on chaos. Deportees may otherwise be detained for years either where the peace finds them or at the borders of the countries to which they may desire to return.

The clarification of the legal status of deportees and refugees desiring to return to their homelands, will have to precede repatriation. Restoring citizenship to former Jewish nationals and recognizing the right of domicile of former Jewish residents will be questions of immediate importance. This may mean that the national frontiers of the various states in Europe will have to be established at least on a provisional basis before the machinery for repatriation is set in motion.

PROBLEMS OF RECONSTRUCTION

Subsistence relief, though vital, is merely the introductory phase of the longer and more complicated process of economic rehabilitation and reconstruction. This more basic problem concerns especially those Jews who remain in Europe, either because they want to or have to because of barriers to emigration.

Most plans deal with Jewish reconstruction in Europe in four specific areas: (1) Western Europe, which includes France, Belgium, Norway, the Netherlands, and Italy; (2) Eastern Europe, which includes Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Greece, Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia; (3) Germany and Austria; (4) the Soviet Union.

Because of the thoroughgoing industrialization of Western Europe, reconstruction will be impossible without the re-establishment of industrial production. To accomplish this, raw materials must

be imported and shipping made available. Destroyed plants must be rebuilt; tools and machines must be secured, particularly from the United States. To finance these operations capital will have to be secured, principally through international loans. Financial stability must be achieved through a stable currency, or else the whole economic structure is threatened. Additional complications will arise in disentangling the ownership of banks, plants, and industries from the maze of Nazi collaborationist control.

Certain problems pertaining to economic reconstruction are likely to affect Jews more than the general population. For example, Jews have suffered most from Nazi confiscatory legislation. This problem has already given rise to statements by various Governments-in-Exile, as well as action by some of them. The Netherlands Government has appointed a special Advisor and an Advisory Committee on Jewish Affairs to deal with the immediate restoration of Jewish rights. From Mr. C. Diamantopoulos, Ambassador of Greece, has come the assurance that when his country is restored to liberty, "the Jews of Greece will be looked after along the same lines as any other Greek subject so that they may retake their normal status." M. Henri Hoppenot, of the former French Committee of National Liberation, has stated: "You can be certain that, as France is liberated, the French authorities will not fail to treat all persons equally without racial discrimination." The Polish Embassy has pointed to the presence of two representatives of the Jews of Poland on the Polish National Council, and declared that the problem was under study by them. "The Polish Government is determined to make all possible efforts towards a complete restoration and rehabilitation of all its citizens, regardless of origin or faith . . ."

Some of these governments have already declared themselves in favor of returning property to the rightful owners, including, of course, Jews. If measures providing for compensation and the restoration of property are carried out within a democratic framework, the economic readjustment of the Jews should not present any special difficulties. One cannot ignore, however, that in liberated France, about 40,000 owners of small businesses formed an association to oppose any French government order to return to Jewish owners enterprises sold to non-Jewish Frenchmen during the German occupation.

Unlike the Jewish communities in Eastern Europe, those in Western and Central Europe were relatively small in relation to the total

population. At the outbreak of the war there were over 300,000 Jews living in France, about 90,000 in Belgium, less than 3,000 in Norway, about 180,000 in the Netherlands, and over 50,000 in Italy. The Jews of these countries, largely of the middle class and emancipated for generations, showed marked tendencies toward assimilation. Their birth rate was consistently low, and had it not been for the continuous immigration of Jews from Eastern Europe, the Jewish communities would have undergone a steady decline in numbers. On the other hand, these centers were for a long time protectors and benefactors of persecuted and poorer Jewish communities elsewhere.

But the present war has witnessed a radical change in the position of these once-favored communities. At the beginning of the Nazi occupation of Western Europe, the treatment of native Jews was relatively milder than that accorded Jews in the East. The first Jews to be deported were the immigrants from Eastern Europe. Only in 1942 did the wholesale shipment of native Jews to other regions begin. Since then large numbers of Jews have been deported. It is estimated that there are at present 170,000 Jews in France; 20,000 in Belgium; 10,000 in the Netherlands. Of the pre-war 3500 Jews in Luxembourg, only 70 remained when the Allies entered. The downfall of Mussolini and virtual occupation of Italy by Germany, resulted in deportation of a number of Italian Jews, hitherto spared this ordeal. Those hapless Jews who have survived the experience of deportation, have been concentrated in the Eastern regions of Nazi-occupied Poland and the occupied territories of the U.S.S.R.

Proceeding, however, upon the optimistic assumption that more will manage to survive than expected, there is no question that many of these former residents will prefer to return to their homelands in Western Europe. It is also possible that immigrant Jews formerly residing in countries like France and Belgium will want to live again in these lands.

Because of the limited number and occupation status of these Jews, it is generally thought that their economic reconstruction will not be faced by any unusual obstacles. The historic liberal traditions of most of Western Europe will also prove a factor favoring adjustment. Reports lead us to believe that the Nazi occupation has resulted in a reaction against anti-Jewish sentiment. If there is no repetition in these countries of the North African experience following the successful landing of the Americans, no grave problems resulting from anti-Semitism are likely to face the Jews. (Even after

the American invasion of North Africa in November, 1942, had led to the overthrow of the local Vichy regime, the new American-approved local administration did not restore French citizenship to the Jews. Instead, it continued in effect the Vichy abolition of the Cremieux Decree, which had given French citizenship to the Jews of Algeria in 1870.) Of course, some measures of education against anti-Semitism may be necessary. But the fact that Jews played such an important role in industry, commerce, the skilled trades, and professions before the war will make their contribution to the economic recovery of the region under discussion highly desirable. Official efforts to secure the post-war return to Belgium of the Jewish diamond dealers who fled to the United States, England, and Palestine provide but one example of the possible contributions Jews can make to the restoration of the normal economy of a country.

The problem of restoring Jewish cultural and communal life will, however, present a definite challenge to Jewish organizations; and the help of the various governments may be expected in this task.

In contrast to Western Europe, the East-European region—including Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Greece, and Yugoslavia—was for centuries the center of Jewish population in the world, and remained a major center even after the rise of the large communities overseas. The number of Jews in this region has been drastically reduced by Nazi extermination and deportation, although many Jews here as well as in both Polish and Soviet White Russia and Ukraine have been fortunate in escaping to the Russian interior. While deportation does not necessarily mean extermination, since many of the deportees are drafted for slave labor and others are permitted to live as best they can, it is clear that unless victory comes very soon the Jewish population in these regions will show a staggering decline. The number of survivors will depend on the speed with which Hitler is defeated and on the specific measures undertaken now by the United Nations to save as many as possible. The problem of reconstruction is likely to be one of mass magnitude, for it would still have to deal with some two million people.

Will the surviving Jews remain? This question, too, cannot be answered definitely. We must remember that the trend towards emigration has always been strong among East-European Jews. Now many have relatives in the Americas, Palestine, and other overseas

countries and will want to join them. Others will wish to leave what was to them a torture chamber. Zionist sentiment, fairly strong in this region, will likely give strength to the emigration drive. Of the many who have found shelter in the Soviet Union, some may send for their relatives, if the Soviet government liberalizes its immigration policies.

On the other hand, many Jews, notably the Czechoslovak, Yugoslav and Hungarian Jews, will be inclined to remain in their homelands or to return to them. The reasons may be property and financial interests, a high degree of cultural assimilation, and a feeling of belonging. The latter may be accentuated, in some cases, by a self-dedication to the task of building a better economic and political order. This may also be true of a proportionately smaller number of Polish and other Jews. Fear of change and of the hardships of migration and pioneer life may be other contributing factors.

Most of the East-European refugees settled in the United States, parts of Latin America, England, and Palestine will probably remain in their new homes. But there may be a limited number among them who, unable or unwilling to adjust themselves to the new conditions, will seek to return to Eastern Europe.

Naturally, the factors operating in favor of the emigrationist solution must be viewed in terms of changes in the policy of the immigrant-receiving countries and the likelihood of a revision of Great Britain's White Paper policy on Palestine. If restrictions against immigration are lifted and large-scale settlement opportunities are created in the overseas countries, more Jews will want to emigrate. If, on the other hand, the Jews in these regions have no choice but readjustment on the spot, reconstruction will naturally be needed on a much larger scale.

To answer the vital question whether and to what degree reconstruction of Jewish life in Eastern Europe is possible, one must have a clear understanding of the social and economic structure of the area before the Nazi invasion, as well as the general outlook for its reconstruction.

This area is predominantly agrarian in character, with a relatively low yield of its cultivated soil, a narrow range of crops, and a densely settled peasant population. The latter is two to five times higher in ratio than in Western Europe, constituting between 65% and 80% of the total population. At the same time, the net yield of

agricultural produce per cultivated acre is two to three times lower than in the West.

As a result, a low standard of living prevails. During the period 1925-1934, when the index of real income of the gainfully employed was 1,069 in Great Britain, 684 in France, 646 in Germany, it was 359 in Hungary, 352 in Poland, and 243 in Rumania. Moreover, the estimated natural increase in population in Eastern Europe is about three times as high as in the West.

Before the First World War, this rapid natural increase was offset by mass emigration. Besides easing population pressure by their departure, the emigrants sent sizeable sums of money to their relatives in the old country. After 1924, however, when the United States adopted the immigration quotas, and other countries traditionally open to immigration followed suit, the average annual East European emigration between 1925 and 1939 fell to less than 15% of the average between 1890 and 1914. Emigration no longer served to balance somewhat the area's economy; and population growth exceeded the increase in agricultural and industrial production, with a resultant further decline in the standard of living.

There are a number of reasons for the economic backwardness of Eastern Europe, one of which was the failure of the different countries to exploit their natural resources. That they are richly endowed by nature cannot be denied. The Danube Basin, for instance, is fertile in soil, and has abundant resources of water power, coal, and oil. Poland has more coal and lignite deposits than any other country in Europe, except Great Britain and Germany. Hungary has about one-fourth of the total world deposits of bauxite. Rumania has rich mineral deposits, chiefly oil; and Yugoslavia, copper, lead, zinc, and bauxite. None of these countries exploited more than a fraction of its resources.

No development of natural resources is possible without capital. This in turn implies foreign investments, for no small agrarian country is capable of financing large-scale industrial undertakings on its own. Western exporters of capital, however, invested relatively little in Eastern Europe because of the feeling that they could obtain greater investment security elsewhere. Much of this sentiment was due to political factors. Eastern Europe, after the breakup of the large political-economic units of Russia and Austria-Hungary following World War I, became an area of small states, with irre-

dentist minority populations and uncertain boundaries. Each of these states strove for economic self-sufficiency (autarchy), thereby discouraging the investment of foreign capital.

Before the First World War, most of the land had been owned by the aristocracy, who exploited the backward, impoverished, and rapidly multiplying peasantry. In Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Rumania, far-reaching agrarian reforms were enacted after the First World War. In the first three countries, land reforms were easily effected because the landowners were predominantly Russian and German; in the last three, Magyars and Germans were more greatly affected than ethnically native landowners. A very limited measure of agrarian reform was undertaken in Poland, where some large estates were distributed among the peasants. The Polish government, however, restricted reform to estates owned by Russians, Germans, and Jews, and generally left the Polish Catholic aristocracy undisturbed. Hungary, where the large landowners were mainly Magyars, had virtually no agrarian reform until 1942-43 when Jewish-owned properties were distributed among the peasants as a result of "Aryanization." Hungary preserved the political influence of the land-owning gentry, traditionally contemptuous of middle-class and professional occupations and socially reactionary, although not hostile to the economic activity of Jews. In other countries, the development of a middle class met with fewer difficulties. There was a substantial Czech middle class in Czechoslovakia, and the beginnings of a Polish Catholic middle class in Poland can be traced to the 19th century.

Attempts at industrialization were made both before World War I and after. In spite of the limited industrial capital at their disposal, the small nations of Eastern Europe embarked on a wasteful policy of "self-sufficiency," especially after the war. Their lack of industrial success can also be traced in some measure to their efforts to curb Jewish participation in economic life. The outstanding examples were furnished by Poland and Rumania.

Nationalism and economic decline in the countries of Eastern Europe, on the one hand, and restrictions against immigration in overseas countries, on the other, made it impossible for Jews, except in Czechoslovakia, to adjust satisfactorily after the First World War. Industrialization was slow, and whenever industrial jobs became available the government, and frequently employers and Christian workers, prevented Jews from obtaining them. The policy of

autarchy brought with it increasing government control over most aspects of economic life, resulting in a further limitation of economic opportunities for Jews. Because of overcrowding on the farms, there was little room for Jews in agriculture. (Despite this limitation, and though the "sacred soil" of the fatherland was usually reserved for the Christian majorities, the number of Jews who earned their living from various kinds of farming was increasing slowly.) A *numerus clausus* prevailed in the civil services and armed forces as well as in the public utilities, most of which were state-owned or controlled. Jews were also restricted in the professions through limited access to the universities, professional schools, the bar, and medical practice. An incessant boycott agitation was conducted against them, frequently with the encouragement of the government. Moreover, the rise in popular education brought about an increase in the number of literate peasants flocking to the cities in search of opportunities. Most of the governments attempted to make room in urban occupations by eliminating the Jews. The Christian middle classes grew rapidly; and their spokesmen, along with the Church and the governments, utilized anti-Semitic propaganda to drive out Jewish competition. The peasant consumers' and producers' cooperative movements limited their fight against private competition to Jews, and at the same time gave no employment to Jewish store managers and white-collar workers. Expanding government control over foreign trade was another means of displacing Jews. The position of Jewish artisans and merchants deteriorated steadily as a result of increased taxation, competition, boycott, and a contracting internal market. Thus the Jews could not only find no new avenue of employment, they found increased competition even in the traditional economic spheres in which they had earned a livelihood. The result was unemployment, a low standard of living, the rise of an unemployed intellectual proletariat, late marriages, and a catastrophic decline in the Jewish birth rate.

Planning reconstruction solely in terms of the past is futile. A return by these small states to their pre-1939 existence, when they were addicted to economic nationalism and politically hostile to each other, will bring neither stability nor progress to their populations, least of all to the Jews. But a feasible solution to the problems existing in the East European area may be found in some form of regional federalism, or regional economic collaboration through custom unions and similar measures.

A regional federation or customs union embracing about 100,000,000 people, or even several small federations or customs unions, would be able to plan effectively for industrialization, agrarian reform, and social security, instead of following the wasteful pre-war patterns of national self-sufficiency and destructive competition.

Industrialization would further alleviate the problems of overpopulation and low standards of living in the agrarian countries. Such a stable federated unit or units would also attract investors of foreign capital.

The advocates of reconstruction on the spot, basing their opinion on historical evidence that minorities are apt to be treated well in multi-national setups, hold that the organization of Eastern Europe along the economic lines indicated above would afford new opportunities to those Jews who desire to remain. Given a truly democratic post-war system, they say, Jews will play a creative role in reconstruction. Their participation will be facilitated by the new expanding regional economy with its improved opportunities, higher standards of living, and increased purchasing power.

Jewish economic adjustment cannot be viewed, however, as an automatic process to be achieved without special effort. Fusing the diverse economic units of Europe into one or several regional federations is bound to be difficult. Adjustment of boundaries between the different units is likely to cause trouble for some time. It is unlikely that many of the people in such vanquished Axis countries as Rumania, Hungary, and Bulgaria will quickly forget their defeat. Even all the victorious countries may not be completely satisfied. Poland may lose her former Ukrainian and White Russian regions to the U.S.S.R. Thus territorial grievances, real or artificial, may be exploited by Fascists, anti-Semites, and collaborationists.

All these factors are likely to produce internal difficulties, inter-group strife, and anti-Semitism, which will interfere with Jewish economic reconstruction. The strains produced by the return of Nazi-confiscated properties to their rightful owners and by such far-reaching economic measures as agrarian reform and socialization will further impede smooth adjustment. Moreover, industrialization, a key to prosperity and obviously a major solution of agrarian overcrowding, cannot be carried out speedily, if only because of the immediate post-war difficulties. It is therefore reasonable to assume that Eastern Europe may remain for a long time predominantly

agrarian, with attendant evils for the Jews, who are predominantly urban.

On the other hand, regional reconstruction in Eastern Europe will be in great need of specific skills, initiative, contacts, and capital. In this region the Nazi policy of exterminating the economic experts, intellectuals, and professionals of the vanquished populations has been ruthless. After liberation, this region will require large numbers of economic experts, reliable civil servants, dependable teachers, lawyers, physicians, journalists, and social workers. No doubt special facilities will be created by the new governments to train people rapidly for such positions. Equal treatment of Jews would contribute to the solution of the economic problem of their youth.

Significant to the Jews will be the extent of socialization of finance, commerce, and industry, for the last two fields are likely to provide more opportunities for Jewish employment than the professions and civil services.

The resumption of industrial and commercial activities will afford more opportunities for Jews, many of whom have pioneered in these fields in Europe, the overseas countries, and the U.S.S.R. (in which country they have made significant contributions in production and distribution). The first to benefit from the gradual reopening of plants supplying industrial goods will be the skilled workers. Because of their economic usefulness to the Nazis, a greater proportion of Jews in these occupational groups is likely to survive than in others.

Restoring confiscated commercial and industrial establishments to their former owners can at best solve the problems of a select and relatively small number of persons. Hundreds of thousands of Jews, previously engaged in petty commerce and unskilled occupations, as well as a large number of chronically unemployed, will still present a difficult problem. Retailing will be essential to the restoration of economic normalcy, either in privately owned, state-owned, or cooperative establishments. Here, too, many Jews may secure employment.

These employment opportunities cannot, however, take care of the needs of all and it is generally agreed that an occupational retraining program will be required. This task, according to many students, should be aimed at resettlement and emigration, as well as readjustment on the spot. Such retraining could also include occu-

pational therapy, since handing out relief to idle people will not hasten their rehabilitation. Retraining centers, therefore, might be established in conveniently located places in Eastern Europe. In view of the difficulties of repatriation and feeding during the Relief Period, some advocate the establishment of these centers in the present areas of Jewish concentration.

The program of retraining could aim at directing Jews out of overcrowded occupations into less competitive avenues of livelihood. Many planners view commercial occupations as "unproductive," and see in the retraining process a means of making Jews "productive" workers. But all agree that a return to the land can in no way be considered a major solution for unemployed Jews in Eastern Europe. Even the most radical land reforms will not satisfy the needs of the huge, landless, peasant population. Training in agriculture, therefore, should be undertaken primarily as a preparation for emigration to Palestine or elsewhere overseas.

A difficult question will arise in connection with the repatriation of German Jews. Should Germany, the home of racism, be entirely disregarded as a land in which Jews could take up residence? Many, if not most Jews, cannot easily contemplate living in that country. Besides, how will the German people, so many of whom supported Hitler and were brought up to believe that Jews are an inferior race and their implacable enemies, react to Jews living in their midst?

At the outbreak of the war, a majority of the German Jews, especially the young and able-bodied, had left. Of the rest, it is estimated that only about 30,000 were left in Germany by 1943, the others having died or been deported East. While a mass return to Germany is not expected, it is likely that some Jews may wish to go back. Much will depend on the political and social order, on the length of time needed for democracy to emerge, and on immigration possibilities elsewhere. Some Jews may want to return in order to regain their property. Others, identified with German culture, life, and politics, may wish to participate in the establishment of a new social order. Still others may believe that the absence of Jews from Germany would be a victory for Hitler despite his defeat. Others may feel that the old historic Jewish community of Germany should continue. The treatment accorded the returning Jews by the German population will serve as an index of Germany's recovery from Nazism and as a measure of her return to civilization. Thus far,

however, few believe that the readjustment of this limited number of Jews will require much planning or communal assistance by Jewish organizations.

But the problem of economic reconstruction for the Jews in the Soviet Union is fundamentally different. As in other areas, the length of the war will be a vital factor. It is estimated that between one and a half and two million Jewish residents of the original Soviet areas (Ukraine, White Russia, Crimea, and Great Russia) and territories incorporated by the Soviet Union between 1939 and 1941 (Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, North Bukovina, Bessarabia, Polish White Russia, and Polish Ukraine) were trapped by the Nazis. We cannot know how many have died or will survive.

Although the unsettled citizenship of the Jews from Poland now in the U.S.S.R. has to be taken into consideration, the problem of restoring these Jews to their normal lives, either in their former or present places of residence, or in new locations, is naturally one to be solved primarily by the Soviet Government. Much will therefore depend on Soviet policy toward foreign aid in relief and rehabilitation. After the First World War, the Soviet Union benefited greatly from the operation of such organizations as the American Relief Administration (A.R.A.) and the Joint Distribution Committee (J.D.C.) which were permitted to operate in Russia under government control and with the assistance of local organizations. Because the problem of reconstructing Jewish life became pressing, following the economic dislocations produced by the civil wars and the drastic process of Sovietization, the Soviet government permitted the Jewish Colonization Association (I.C.A.) and the Agro-Joint, a subsidiary of the J.D.C., to assist financially and administratively in the projected mass land-settlement of Jews in the Ukraine, White Russia, and Crimea. This assistance was finally discontinued, by decision of the Soviet Government, in 1938. When the Soviet Union established the autonomous Jewish territory of Biro-Bidjan in 1928, it did not permit foreign Jewish organizations to operate there. The prohibition against foreign organizations is still in force.

It is impossible to forecast what the attitude of the Soviet Union will be after the war. Among the thousands of refugee Jews that have found refuge in the Soviet Union are many who may fall into the category of the economically declassed, such as former tradesmen. Will Russia undertake the "productivization" of these Jews or

will she seek their repatriation to their former homes? The possibilities of economic readjustment in the Soviet Union, which despite terrible losses has great natural riches, and where there is genuine racial and national equality, are quite different from those in poverty-stricken and hate-divided Europe.

RECONSTRUCTION THROUGH MIGRATION

What are the prospects for Jewish reconstruction through migration? We have indicated above the differences of opinion among Jews concerning this solution.

The point of view most commonly accepted is the middle-of-the-road one, based on the democratic concept of free choice, which asserts that Jews in the war areas ought to be given both the right and the opportunity to restore their lives either in Europe or overseas, according to their own preference. Even opponents of the emigrationist solution admit that migration is bound to provide the way out for many Jews, although they continue to object to any plans which would, however benevolently, single the Jews out for evacuation or mass exodus. On the other hand, even the extremist advocates of the solution by emigration insist on the right of Jews to remain in Europe.

Again we must base our thinking on hopes rather than on facts. The number of prospective Jewish emigrants from the Axis-occupied areas will depend primarily on the ability of the Jews to survive. The two determining factors are, as we have explained, the length of the war and the interest of the United Nations in rescuing the European Jews. While the majority of the surviving Jews of Western Europe, are expected to face the future in their former countries, the same cannot be said for most of those in Eastern Europe. Even granted good possibilities for reconstruction in their former countries, many will prefer to emigrate. Within this category are the Polish, Rumanian, Slovak, and Ruthenian Jews. But because of continuing deportations and killings by the Nazis, it is impossible to know how many of these Jews will survive.

In addition to the Jews in these countries, there are sizeable numbers of prospective Jewish emigrants not at present under the Nazi heel. Most of the 21,000 refugees (mainly from Germany) now living in a ghetto in Japanese-held Shanghai do not expect to remain in China after the war. Spain and Portugal harbor about 8,000 Jews

who are awaiting the opportunity to emigrate or to be repatriated. There are more than 27,000 Jewish refugees in Switzerland, while many refugees at present in Great Britain have been permitted to remain there only for the duration of the war.

Of the 6,000 European Jews in North Africa, most do not expect to stay, and some native Jews, particularly Moroccan and Libyan, may prefer to emigrate. About thirty thousand Jews in Yemen, living in medieval degradation, and twenty thousand in Iraq, some of whom experienced the 1941 pogrom in Baghdad staged by pro-Axis Arabs, would emigrate, preferably to Palestine, if given the opportunity. It is also possible that economic and political development in the Near Eastern states of Syria and Lebanon, as well as in Iran and Afghanistan, will make emigration preferable to many Jews. At the same time, the continuation of the White Paper policy in Palestine is bound to raise a serious emigration problem for many Jews in the Holy Land. Some may refuse to live in what they consider a permanent ghetto ruled by a primitive and intolerant Moslem state. The failure to protect minorities in modern Europe gives them no assurance of future safety in an Arab environment. They point to threats and declarations by Arab leaders, calling for a drastic reduction in the numbers and influence of the Jewish community in Palestine. Furthermore, it is generally agreed that the inability of the Jews to plan their own economic future under the White Paper policy of discouraging Palestine's industrial growth will lead to the lowering of their living standards.

Prospective Jewish emigrants living in the Soviet Union are in a different category. While Jews in the U.S.S.R. enjoy complete political and economic equality, many would choose to leave for religious, ideological or family reasons, if given an opportunity. The most urgent plight of all is that of the aforementioned Jewish refugees from Poland who, following their refusal to accept Soviet citizenship were deported in 1940 to Asia from the Soviet-occupied Polish territories. Many feared that after adopting Soviet citizenship they would never be able to rejoin their families, left behind under Nazi occupation, in Poland, and also would be unable to migrate to Palestine or elsewhere overseas; the Soviet Union does not, except rarely, permit emigration. In spite of their deportation, they are considered Soviet citizens. Their situation is now precarious, for social work in the Soviet Union, particularly in wartime, is not stressed. Similarly complicated is the problem of many Jews formerly living

in the Soviet-incorporated areas of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Bessarabia, and Bukovina.

Naturally, there will be less of a desire to emigrate from Russia if the present friendship between the U.S.S.R. and the Western democracies leads to drastic changes in the Soviet attitude towards religious tolerance and cultural contacts with the rest of the world. Greater opportunities for Jewish religious survival, the elimination of restrictions against Hebrew and Zionism, and the participation of the Soviet Jewish communities in Jewish post-war reconstruction throughout the world would lessen the number of prospective emigrants from the U.S.S.R.; so too would the opening of the gates of that country to the immigration of relatives. Emigration from the U.S.S.R. will primarily depend on a change in government policy. In the 1920's, the Soviet Union permitted the emigration of Jews to Palestine, under certain financial arrangements. Its anti-emigration policy has not always been uniform and may still be changed.

Unlike the average Jewish emigrant before the present war, the vast majority of the post-war emigrants will be completely destitute. They will be ill clad, and their health is bound to be ravaged in consequence of systematic undernourishment and medical neglect. Horror and insecurity will have undermined the mental health of many, who will require psychiatric treatment. Many will lack passports and other identifying documents, and others will be stateless. Large numbers will require occupational retraining.

The period of subsistence relief should be utilized to restore these people to physical and mental normalcy and to teach them new occupations and the languages of the countries of future immigration. Although many will be in no condition to emigrate at once, they will want to do so and will be impatient of delay. They will prefer to leave in family groups whenever possible, contrary to the usual trend in emigration, where as a rule one member of a family prepares the way for the rest. On the other hand, there will be many unattached persons, particularly women and orphans.

Over and above repatriation and the suggested exchange and transfer of populations as a means of solving minority problems, students predict many large-scale internal migrations within Europe and Asia. For instance, rather than repatriate some of the population that has been dislocated by war, or certain groups whose presence is not desired in places of strategic importance (e.g. the Volga Germans), the Soviet Union may decide to ask for their transfer

elsewhere or may settle them in its vast Asiatic hinterland. The exigencies of war have already set in motion this vast internal migration within the Soviet Union, where many new communities have been built up in Soviet Asia. It is likely that this population shift will continue.

Drastic changes have also taken place in the geographical distribution of the Jewish population in the U.S.S.R. Most of the Jews who were evacuated by the Soviet Government or who managed to escape the Nazi onslaught in 1941 found refuge in Asia, particularly Turkestan. The government will probably want many of them to remain there. Also, some Jews, along with others, may again be shifted elsewhere after the war. Furthermore it is possible that the Soviet Government may broaden the Biro-Bidjan experiment. Finally, some Jews in Eastern Europe will prefer to join their relatives in the U.S.S.R., if the Soviet Government relaxes its closed-door policy.

Undoubtedly the rest of Europe will also witness internal migration. One migratory movement would consist of people moving from Eastern Europe to the Western and Central European countries, as they did before the war. At that time movements of seasonal labor and permanent emigrants from the over-populated agrarian areas of Eastern Europe to the more prosperous countries of the West were common. The establishment of regional federations may also stimulate internal migrations from one area to another, in accordance with political and economic needs.

Jews too will be affected by these internal migrations. Movements of East European Jews to Central and Western Europe have been taking place since the seventeenth century and have accelerated since 1914, furnishing renewed vitality to the Jewish communities of the West. It is possible that the West and Central European countries may offer new homes to a limited number of skilled and specially trained Jews from Eastern Europe.

But internal migrations in Europe can at best provide for the needs of a relatively small number of the homeless and displaced. More attention therefore has been focused on mass emigration overseas, especially to the relatively underpopulated countries in the Western Hemisphere, Australia, and Africa. In addition, many consider Palestine capable of absorbing a large number of immigrants.

Since the rise of Nazism, more than thirty proposals have been made for Jewish settlement in places all over the globe. Among

them have been irresponsible schemes such as the Lower California (Mexico) project, which was utilized by Mexican fascists solely for anti-Semitic propaganda; and the Nai-Juda project, calling for the establishment of a Jewish state somewhere in Latin America. Madagascar was proposed by the anti-Semitic Polish Government as an outlet for a large number of Poland's "superfluous" Jewish population. The Nazis too have advertised Madagascar as a reservation for the Jews of Europe. Alaska has time and again been suggested as the answer to the needs of many refugees, Jewish and non-Jewish. Biro-Bidjan was thought to be suitable and practicable. In 1939, partly in an attempt to assuage Jewish opinion over the White Paper restrictions on immigration to Palestine, the British Government offered British Guiana in South America for Jewish settlement. Before the outbreak of the war, arrangements had been made by the Refugee Economic Corporation for starting a settlement in Mindanao, in the Philippines. In 1939, the Dominican Republic Settlement Association launched the experiment of settling Jewish and non-Jewish refugees in a colony in Sosua, San Domingo. With the exception of the last-mentioned project, the results of which have been limited and inconclusive, none of these proposals has resulted in effective relief. In some cases, the governments concerned withdrew their offers; in others, investigation proved the unsuitability of the place proposed for refugee settlement. And of course, the war intervened to halt all these projects.

Judging from past experiences and the present attitudes of some governments, the outlook for post-war overseas migration is not bright. Some observers predict a repetition of the disappointing experiences which followed the First World War. Then, too, much hope was placed in emigration, which did not materialize. Instead, quota and other restrictive laws were passed by all the immigrant-receiving countries. Moreover, in spite of the ever-mounting needs since the rise of Nazism, admissions have frequently been much below the number of immigrants permitted to enter by law. For instance, while the present United States quota system provides for the annual entry of 153,774 immigrants, only 51,776 entered in the fiscal year 1940-41, and only 28,781 in 1941-42. Of the 453,205 immigrants who came here between 1933 and 1942, only 291,112 were from Europe and of these, in turn, only 163,423 were Jews. While not the only country to follow this practice, it is the United States that sets the general tone in the Western hemisphere. In addition,

the Evian Conference in 1938 and particularly the Bermuda Conference (April, 1943), are cited as indications that doors will probably remain closed after this war. The establishment of emergency refugee shelters¹ in the United States and elsewhere substantiates this contention, for the inhabitants of these "free ports" are slated to be shipped elsewhere, once conditions permit.

There are many causes for the prevailing opposition. Sometimes, the chief motive is hostility to the stranger or newcomer, whatever his origin. In other cases, objections are directed against particular groups of people. For instance, the quota laws of the United States give preference to immigrants from Northern, Central, and Western Europe, and discriminate against those from Eastern and South-eastern Europe. Some Latin American countries prefer Italian-speaking immigrants. In some countries where the influence of the Church is strong, Catholics have been given preference.

Economic motives play a large role in the restriction of immigration. In some Latin American countries merchants and professional people, fearing competition, have been instrumental in getting restrictive laws passed. Nor do objections stem wholly from conservative quarters. Although economists have time and again denied that immigrants are just so many consumers of food and competitors for jobs, this common prejudice stands in the way of opening gates to immigration. Organized labor in the United States, Australia, and other countries has been among the most consistent opponents of immigration, its opposition motivated by a fear that immigrants would narrow employment opportunities and lower working standards.

Frequently, opposition to immigration is maintained to the detriment of the national interest. For instance, the people of Australia, in spite of their country's dangerous under-population, have resisted liberalizing their immigration provisions. In the British Dominions generally, the prevalent sentiment favors selective rather than mass immigration.

Even before Nazi propaganda began to influence immigration policy abroad, immigration restrictions had had a particularly bad effect on the Jews in Europe. For instance, the United States quota laws radically reduced the possibilities of emigration for the Jews of Poland and other countries long before Hitler came to power. The year 1933 marked a pronounced deterioration in Jewish migration

¹ See p. 191.

prospects, while at the same time it brought a great increase in migration needs. Anti-Semitic propaganda was directed from Germany toward the immigration-receiving countries; and the refugees, being both Jews and immigrants, were doubly vulnerable. While it may be true that Jewish refugees would have been admitted more freely to some countries if they had been predominantly farmers, anti-Semitism was the major reason for increased restrictions on immigration.

Efforts to solve the problem of "political" refugees by the League of Nations and other bodies following World War I show clearly that refugees then enjoyed greater consideration than now. Although the Covenant of the League did not include any provisions for the aid of refugees, the League set up machinery for helping them. The Office of the High Commissioner for Russian Refugees, established in 1921 with the Norwegian Fridtjof Nansen as High Commissioner, helped greatly to solve the problems of the Russian refugees of all faiths and political opinions who had fled the Soviet regime. To aid the stateless, the so-called Nansen passport was adopted by fifty-two governments following an intergovernmental conference in July, 1922. In 1924 this arrangement was extended to Armenian refugees from Turkey, over 100,000 of whom the Office helped to settle in Syria and Greece. With the financial aid of the League, the Nansen Office was likewise instrumental in carrying out the successful exchanges of populations between Turkey and Greece and between Bulgaria and Greece. For some time it also protected the Christian Assyrians persecuted by the Moslem Iraqis. Beginning with 1925, refugee work was transferred to the Diplomatic Section of the International Labor Office (an organization affiliated with the League of Nations and composed of representatives of government, employers, and labor of the various countries) as its Refugee Service. By 1929, because the refugee problem had to a great extent been solved and because of the desire of the various governments to liquidate the emergency services of the League, the Nansen International Office for Refugees was set up with the idea of terminating refugee work by the end of 1938.

By 1933, however, there had arisen the new and pressing problem of German refugees. They were mostly Jewish. Because Germany (then still a member of the League of Nations) objected to any direct action by the League on behalf of the German Jews, the High Commission for Refugees (Jewish and other) from Germany was created

by the League as an autonomous organization, and financed by private contributions. James G. McDonald, an American was its first High Commissioner. Convinced that the task was too great to be handled by a private organization, he resigned in 1935 and was succeeded by Sir Neill Malcolm, an Englishman. Nevertheless, certain provisions, including one for providing refugees with identifying documents, helped somewhat to ease their plight. Attempts to have the League deal directly with the refugee problem continued, and in 1938 Sir Herbert Emerson was appointed the High Commissioner for Refugees under the Protection of the League of Nations. In July of the same year, representatives of thirty-two governments, called together by President Franklin D. Roosevelt met at Evian, France, and established the Intergovernmental Refugee Committee, with George Rublee, an American, as its head. The Evian Conference recognized the need for a "long-range [refugee] program." Its participants thought that this could be achieved only with the "collaboration of the country of origin," viz., Nazi Germany, and that account should be taken of "the economic and social adaptability of immigrants." The only tangible offer resulting from the Evian Conference was that of the Dominican Republic. Otherwise, there was no change for the better in the immigration policy of any of the participating countries.

In the meantime, however, the situation became more pressing due to the expulsion of Polish Jews from Germany (October, 1938), the November 1938 pogroms (following Herschel Grynszpan's assassination of a German embassy official, Ernst vom Rath, in Paris) and the promulgation of the White Paper on Palestine (May 17, 1939). In February, 1939, the Rublee Plan was announced. It involved an agreement between Germany and the Intergovernmental Committee, by which about 150,000 Jewish and "non-Aryan" refugees from Germany would emigrate in three to five years to overseas countries, where they were to be admitted within the existing immigration laws. Their emigration was to be financed by money expropriated from German Jews, and no flight or other tax was to be levied on them. Elderly and sick Jews were to be permitted to remain in Germany without being relegated to "ghettoes," unless "something extraordinary occurs such as another attempt upon the life of a Nazi leader by a Jew." The Coordinating Foundation, an Anglo-American organization founded in London on August 1, 1939, to facilitate the orderly settlement of refugees, as contemplated by the

Ruble Plan, was unable to function because of the outbreak of the war.

In the United States, the President's Committee on Political Refugees was appointed in 1940 with George L. Warren as Secretary, for the purpose of rescuing some of the political refugees of Europe. With our entry into the war, there seemed an end to any further hope of rescue. Transportation was practically unavailable, with the exception of a few Portuguese and Spanish steamers that carried a few hundred passengers each month to the safe shores of the Western Hemisphere.

The Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees with Sir Herbert Emerson as Director and Patrick Murphy Malin, an American, as Vice Director, also found itself paralyzed by the outbreak of the war and was practically moribund until revived by the Bermuda Conference of April, 1943. This Anglo-American conference on refugees was a source of widespread disappointment because of the meager results it obtained. Military considerations were offered as the chief factor preventing large-scale rescue work. The gradual worsening of the plight of Jews in Europe led to the setting up on January 22, 1944, of a War Refugee Board consisting of Secretary of State Cordell Hull, Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau and Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson. The Board is under the directorship of John W. Pehle. A number of voluntary agencies in this field are collaborating with the War Refugee Board and other government organizations in their plans.

Authoritative figures are not available as to the number of individuals now living in enemy and enemy-occupied countries whose rescue is contemplated under this program. To be sure, no program could be set up at this time to encompass all the persons seeking to escape from the oppressive domination of the Nazis. But among the individuals to be aided by the President's War Refugee Board are those who are now in hiding because they are sought by the Nazis either for deportation or extermination. Reports indicate that there are over 27,000 Jewish refugees now in Switzerland, many of them having escaped from Northern Italy and France. It is said that more than sixty persons managed to cross daily into Switzerland over the French border. In Sweden there are at least 6,000 Jewish refugees who succeeded in escaping from Denmark. The military successes of the United Nations, with consequent liberation of

Nazi-occupied areas, have resulted in a more definite picture of the refugee situation.

In Rumania there were two different areas of rescue, one pertaining to Transnistria and the other to Rumania proper. In Transnistria there were 150,000 Jews living under the most wretched conditions, without food, clothing or shelter and in constant threat of annihilation by the Nazi military forces. As a result of the victorious sweep of the Russian armies across those regions, 48,000 Jews succeeded in escaping from Transnistria. In Rumania proper there are some 270,000 Jews, all of whom suffered at the hands of their oppressors. The occupation of Hungary by Germany in March, 1944, resulted in the deportation to concentration camps of some 400,000 Jews. Only 75,000 are purported to be in Budapest, following the mass deportations.

In Bulgaria some 45,000 Jews survived the concentration camps and forced labor battalions. Some Jews were deported to Poland a year ago. Many of those in Bulgaria and Rumania managed to escape by slipping into Turkey. With the cooperation of the Turkish government, many others were rescued by way of Constanza and the Black Sea. 10,000 Jews are reported to be living now in Greece.

Executions and deportations from France continued to take place until the last few weeks of German occupation. Although 170,000 Jews are said to have survived Nazi occupation of France, there is no final count of the number still left in that country, for thousands managed to escape into Switzerland and Spain. In addition, the thousands of Sephardic Jews left in France who are Turkish subjects were deported to Poland.

In Poland, the Jews were trapped, "hermetically sealed," and earmarked for total annihilation. It is said that of the 3,000,000 Jews who remained in Poland after the Nazi occupation, only 150,000 now survive.

There are about 1,200 Jews remaining in Yugoslavia, while at the time of the Nazi occupation there were 85,000 Jews in the country. Those refugees who managed to reach Spain from occupied territories are gradually being transported to safe countries overseas or in North Africa.

In Shanghai there are still about 21,000 Jewish refugees, for whom plans will have to be made.

Realizing the urgency of the problem, President Roosevelt on

June 8, 1944, announced that "emergency refugee shelters" popularly known as "free ports" will be established to take care of European war refugees. As a precedent for other countries to follow, it was also announced that the United States would establish such a shelter at Fort Ontario, near Oswego, New York, where under appropriate security restrictions the refugees will remain for the duration of the war. These refugees have already been brought to this country in a procedure differing from that of regular immigration; and it is understood that at the end of the war they will be returned to their respective homelands. Mexico has also announced its intention of establishing such refugee shelters; and it is hoped that other countries will follow suit.

POSITIVE FACTORS OPERATING IN FAVOR OF A CHANGE
IN IMMIGRATION POLICY

The record of international action on behalf of the Jewish victims of Nazism is not impressive. But advocates of overseas migration believe that post-war attitudes toward immigration will be liberalized. With increasing unity among the United Nations, the importance of migration both in the reconstruction of Europe and in the development of overseas countries has come to the fore.

Advocates of migration hold that no progress is possible without free movements of populations. Human history, they point out, is largely a history of migration movements. The American continent and Soviet Asia, both containing millions of people, could not have been developed without masses of immigrants from the more crowded areas of Europe. Immigrants have not only raised the standards of living and civilization in their new homes, they have also helped improve conditions by draining the excess populations from their former homes. Overcrowding in certain areas creates political as well as economic tensions, and under-populated areas, besides suffering retrogression or, at best, stagnation, are apt to tempt aggressive-minded countries. The most dynamic factor in economics is human labor, and the increased demand for raw materials and foodstuffs from the underpopulated regions will require adequate manpower to cope with the increased needs of production. Related fields, such as transportation and manufacturing, will also require additional labor as well as managerial and clerical personnel. The internal market of backward and underpopulated countries will be strengthened by the addition of many new immigrant con-

sumers. In primitive countries, the presence of a new labor force, alert and skilled, will tend to eliminate the evils of unbridled exploitation. Development of under-developed areas cannot be achieved without immigration.

Prosperity and security are likewise directly connected with an increase of population, which in advanced countries can no longer depend on accretions by birth. Between 1932 and 1935 the decline in Australia's birth rate was 20 percent. Between 1938 and 1943, it fell almost fifty percent. Between 1911 and 1940 the size of the average Australian family declined from 3.3 to 2.4, a level barely sufficient to maintain a stationary population.

Without immigration, the population of the United States, estimated at 131,669,275 in 1940, will reach a maximum of 136,500,000 by 1956. Then, because of the declining birth rate, it will begin to fall rapidly, reaching 126,500,000 by 1980. On the other hand, if immigration were open to only 300,000 annually, a number that can be absorbed without any difficulty, the population would be considerably increased by 1980.

But not all students are convinced that large populations are, *ipso facto*, good. Those who concede the probability of a declining birth rate point out that since the Industrial Revolution, a maximum in population has not necessarily been compatible with a maximum in population welfare. As between numbers and decent standards of life, they opt for decent standards. They recall that several nations, which have in the recent past pursued a "populationist" policy, were motivated by aggressive and imperialist ambitions. They were primarily desirous of increasing productive and military manpower and of rationalizing their aggressions by the plea of irresistible population pressures. Populationist policies were launched despite low national standards of living, and resulted in a further decrease in standards. Moreover, even from the point of view of military security, a high degree of industrial and agricultural efficiency is perhaps more important than numbers.

Population overcrowding and density are relative terms, depending greatly on the development of a given area. Thus, in highly industrialized England and Wales there were 695 inhabitants per square mile in 1932, in contrast to 155 in agrarian Ireland. While there were 184 persons per square mile in Europe (excluding the U.S.S.R.), there were only 41 (in 1942, 44.2) persons in the U. S. A. Canada and Australia had the extremely low figure of 7.7 and 3.8

persons per habitable square mile respectively. Thus we can see that the term "underpopulated" is highly elastic. On the basis of American population density, Australia's population would be over 45,000,000 but on the basis of population density in Western U. S. A. alone, Australia would have a population of around 30,000,000.

A number of countries in Latin America are similarly underpopulated. Brazil, for instance, with an area of 3,275,510 square miles, has a population of 41,356,605, showing a population density of 12.6 per square mile. Argentina, with an area of 1,078,278 square miles and a population of 13,518,239, has a population density of 12.5. Colombia, Peru, Ecuador, Venezuela, Bolivia and Paraguay, although countries of varying economies and standards of living, would all probably benefit greatly from immigration. Adherents of migration as a solution base their arguments on the economic and political needs of such countries, rather than solely on sentimental and humanitarian grounds.

The most important areas suggested for Jewish mass settlement are Argentina, Biro-Bidjan, Brazil, Canada, and the Kimberleys in Australia. At various times since the beginning of the century, but especially since the Evian Conference in 1938, there have also been suggestions that settlements be made in British Guiana, Ecuador, the Dominican Republic, and Alaska in the Western Hemisphere; and Kenya, Northern Rhodesia, Tanganyika, Uganda, Angola, and Madagascar in Africa.

Most experts are inclined to favor the first series of settlement areas, considering Biro-Bidjan and the Kimberleys the most hopeful prospects. Biro-Bidjan in Soviet Siberia, comprising over 15,000 square miles, was set aside for Jewish settlement in 1928 and was proclaimed an autonomous region in 1934. While it is estimated that only about 20,000 Jews are living there today, the region may be opened to post-war Jewish immigration. A plan for settling large masses of Jews in the Australian Kimberleys region, extending some 11,000 square miles and with a present population of about 460,000, is sponsored by the Freeland League for Jewish Territorial Settlement. The Australian government announced itself in November 1944 as opposed to a Jewish settlement in the Kimberleys because, according to Prime Minister Curtin, "Australia is unable to see its way clear to depart from the long-established policy in regard to alien settlement." This statement, however, did not rule out post-war individual immigration to Australia.

Though agricultural colonization of Jews in Brazil has taken place on a very small scale, the success of Japanese colonies in the country points to the possibilities of large-scale settlement after the war; for Brazil contains an enormous area of undeveloped, highly fertile land.

In 1939 British Guiana, with an area of 89,480 square miles and a population in 1932 of more than 300,000, over two-thirds of them Negro and East Indian, was offered by the British Government for Jewish settlement. Experts are doubtful of Guiana's suitability for white settlement. Furthermore, the East Indians and Negroes in the British West Indies have objected to Jewish settlement, protesting that their own landless population should receive priority in colonization and land distribution. No actual settlement of Jews has taken place.

The Government of Ecuador in 1935 made a generous offer of some 1600 square miles of land to a French refugee settlement organization. A delegation of experts approved the plan of settlement in 1936. Jewish organizations in the field, however, felt that the proposed area was located too far from available communications, involved vast expenditures, and that the very high altitude of some regions and the tropical location of others made it unsuitable for white settlement.

Considerable interest in the future possibilities of colonization in the Amazon basin has been aroused ever since President Vargas of Brazil proposed in 1940 that a conference be called by the Amazonian nations (Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, Colombia, Venezuela, and Brazil) to plan the development of the basin. The war has led to considerable exploitation of the basin's resources and to an improvement of transportation facilities. But there is little doubt that the Amazonian nations will have to import considerable labor, resources, and technical skills if colonization is envisaged.

Alaska, with an area of over 590,000 square miles, had a population of 72,524 in 1939 and is considered capable of supporting a population of 12,000,000. Efforts to turn this territory into a haven for refugees have been encouraged by Secretary of the Interior Harold I. Ickes. A proposal before Congress in 1940 to open Alaska to refugee settlement was shelved because of general objections to immigration and the opposition of Alaskan public opinion.

Kenya, Northern Rhodesia, Tanganyika and Uganda, though they have plenty of rich soil, seem closed to mass immigration in

view of the rapid increase of the native populations, and the objections of the local whites. Angola in West Africa was offered for Jewish settlement by the Portuguese in 1911. Subsequently, the Portuguese Government declared its unwillingness to permit Jewish mass settlement. Madagascar, intended by the Nazis to be the center of Jewish concentration, has been found unfit for white settlement.

The large majority of the proposed areas are located in tropical and subtropical regions. There are many objections to white settlement in tropical regions, most of them on the grounds of health. The fact that all these tropical and subtropical regions (except Australia) are surrounded by rapidly increasing native and colored populations, whose natural area of expansion would thus be blocked by Jewish settlements, would create many problems of intergroup relations. Some Jewish groups are opposed to mixed settlement because of the possibility of the eventual loss of the settler's Jewish identity through intermarriage.

Many Zionists say that further distribution of Jews, rather than their concentration, would tend to spread anti-Semitism. They insist on the priority of Palestine in any consideration of mass settlement, and tend to view territorial and other settlement proposals with suspicion, feeling that these are often utilized to detract from the importance of Palestine.

There can be little doubt that if the White Paper of 1939, with its absolute restriction on further Jewish immigration after 1944, continues in effect, Jewish emigration from Europe will be gravely prejudiced. A major immigration-receiving outlet will disappear, with a resultant increase in the number striving for entrance elsewhere, at a time when even those who do not prefer to go to Palestine may encounter serious difficulty in obtaining an entrance into other countries.

While the early colonization of the Western Hemisphere and other pioneer areas was largely a result of group immigration (as for instance, the Pilgrim Fathers, the mass importation of Negro slaves, the original convict settlement of Australia), individual migration has been the more important method. An individual setting out to find a new home would then send for his closest relatives after he had adjusted to new conditions. Then other people living in the home community would follow. While this movement, seen in its broadest aspects, is one of mass migration, it should not be confused with group migration. The latter type takes place when a group of prospective immigrants organizes itself or is formed by a

government body or a colonization society for the purpose of establishing new communities or settlements in areas selected before departure. Examples of successful group migration among Jews are those of the movement to Argentina in the 1890's and that of the Halutzim (trained pioneers) to Palestine after 1920.

Group settlement requires much advance planning and preparation on the part of the governmental or private agencies concerned. By contrast, individual migration leaves much more to the initiative of the individual, his relatives, and sponsors. The story of Jewish migration overseas in the period between the two wars is replete with examples of the "discovery" of new homes by enterprising individuals, who paved the way for many subsequent groups to immigrate. Included in this category are such lands as Ecuador, Bolivia, Colombia, and Peru, where there were very few Jews before World War I. Following the rise of Nazism, enterprising individuals discovered new opportunities for themselves and a limited number of specially qualified people in out-of-the-way places, like Java, Burma, Thailand, and the Philippines. While some immigrant-receiving countries, like the United States, offer better opportunities to individual immigrants, students of migration claim that more could be achieved by group migration, especially in the underpopulated subtropical and tropical areas. Of course, skilled people, professionals and artisans, will find their place in both group and individual migration movements. It is felt, however, that the less skilled people, such as prospective farmers, could be accommodated more adequately on a group basis, particularly in certain areas that are considered available or suitable for mass settlement.

For both individual and group settlements there is a further question: the character of their economy. Shall ownership be individual or cooperative and collective? Or shall a compromise prevail? Shall there be mixed group settlements, which combine agricultural and industrial enterprises? A study of the varieties of settlement economy in Argentina and Palestine will prove of great value to future settlers.

Projects for Jewish mass settlement may be classified in two categories: the territorialist and the philanthropic. Territorialists are guided by the post-war needs of millions of dispossessed Jews as well as the needs of Jewish group survival. In both these respects the territorialist point of view is very similar to that of the Zionists, except for the territorialist contention that Palestine is unable to solve the problem of homes for millions because of its limited ab-

sorptive capacity and because of complicating political factors. The philanthropic advocates of settlement are concerned primarily with the humanitarian motive of helping dispossessed Jews. Territorialists, as a rule, advocate close Jewish settlement with some degree of cultural (Yiddish) autonomy; the maximalists among them are in favor of a Jewish state or a political autonomous region with Yiddish as its official language. The philanthropists do not as a rule insist on exclusively Jewish colonization, some preferring settlements on a non-sectarian basis (e.g. Sosua). Nor do they contemplate cultural autonomy, preferring the type of Jewish communal organization and allegiance established in the western democracies.

In contrast to the situation before the present war, when most of the refugees in search of resettlement were from Germany and possessed some capital, the majority of the surviving Jews in Eastern Europe will be penniless even if post-war reparations are made on a large scale. The problem of financing overseas settlements (provided the proper areas are made available) involves occupational retraining, shipping, preparation of the soil, roads, communications, and other public utilities, homes, seed for planting, and grants to settlers until they become self-sufficient. The costs of settlement rise continually as the available areas are located further away from centers of communication and urban areas, and the soil allotted requires painstaking preparation. The average potential Jewish settler is not a very experienced farmer, and the costly trial and error involved raises additional problems of expenditure. The raising of these enormous funds required for settlement is beyond the capacity of private organizations and even individual governments. Large-scale financial assistance cannot be obtained from the countries of immigration, particularly the Latin American. It appears therefore that only an international and intergovernmental financing body is capable of financing the expenses involved in resettlement, on the basis of loans, outright grants, or both.

In the wider sense, settlement is but a part of the larger movement of migration. In view of the chaotic conditions that will prevail in Europe following the end of hostilities, it is clear that all types of migration, internal, individual, and mass, will have to be coordinated and managed scientifically.

In addition to the problem of obtaining outlets for migration, one sufficiently complex to challenge the imagination of the thinker and diplomat and the assiduousness of the scholar, there are the

weighty tasks of preparing temporary shelters for the future immigrant, salvaging whatever reparations may be made available for him, aiding him to sell his property, providing opportunities for proper vocational retraining, securing the proper passports and visas, protecting him before prejudiced officials, perhaps with the aid of case workers attached to consular offices, providing shipping facilities, and looking out for exploiters and impostors in the ports of embarkation and arrival, ever on the alert to deprive the poor immigrant of his possessions. It is clear, therefore, that besides the large tasks of regulating and financing migration and settlement, to be achieved by intergovernmental agencies, there also remain a number of vital tasks for the initiative of the private relief and social work agencies.

Foremost in the field of Jewish relief and reconstruction is the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. Established in 1914 as a fund-distributing agency, the J.D.C., following World War I, engaged immediately in relief and health work, and later in reconstruction, mainly through subsidizing national and local agencies in the countries in which it operated. The J.D.C. together with the ICA, aided in the establishment of a chain of cooperative loan associations through the American Joint Reconstruction Foundation. It also financed migration work after the rise of Nazism to power.

The ICA was established in 1891 to help in the migration and settlement of the Jews of tzarish Russia mainly. It has had extensive experience in colonization in Argentina, Brazil, Canada, and Russia. In Palestine it has conducted extensive colonization first by itself and later through the Palestine Colonization Association (PICA) and the EMICA. The Refugee Economic Corporation has done some work in different countries.

The outstanding organization in the field of migrations is the Hias-Ica Emigration Association (HICEM), established in 1927 and is composed today of the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society of America (HIAS) and the ICA. The purpose of the HICEM is to regulate migration of Jews throughout the world.

Various Palestinian agencies have also acquired appropriate skills and experience. The Jewish Agency for Palestine has supervised Jewish immigration and settlement; Hechalutz (established in 1921) has engaged in agricultural and industrial training for future immigrants; the Youth Aliyah (Heb., immigration) movement, sponsored in the U. S. A. by Hadassah, is primarily concerned with child care.

The Histadrut (General Federation of Jewish Labor) and the various collectives have also done much colonization work.

The ORT (Organization for Rehabilitation through Training; originally Obshchestvo Razprostranneniya Truda . . . [Society for the Spreading of Labor among Jews]), established in 1880, has been engaged in occupational training in Eastern Europe. The OSE (Organizatsia Sanitaria Eugenica), established in 1912, and its Polish sister organization the TOZ (Towarzystwo Ochrony Zdrowia) have been engaged in health work. The thousands of landsmanshaften (societies of people from the same localities) and their central organizations are also preparing to do their share in relief and reconstruction in specific communities. We do not here list local agencies.

All the above mentioned organizations, particularly, J.D.C. HICEM, and the Jewish Agency, have been extremely active in the areas already liberated from Nazi control. They maintain very close relations with all responsible agencies such as the UNRRA, the War Refugee Board, the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, as well as with the Allied Governments-in-exile. Foreseeing the need for a trained Jewish overseas staff, the J.D.C., HICEM, and the ORT have sponsored training courses which will make available a personnel equipped with a knowledge of the problems that will confront the Jews in a liberated, but war torn Europe.

The problem of coordinating the work of all the Jewish agencies that will be in the field, and relating it to general relief, reconstruction and migration, is highly technical. Moreover, it involves touchy areas of community and organizational relationships. In some instances working arrangements have been inaugurated that speak well for the future.

To provide the necessary financial support will be a great and challenging task. The American Jewish community, free, great and wealthy, will certainly try to discharge its responsibilities. But those responsibilities will not end with financial contributions, however great. The Jews of the United States and the other free countries will be called upon to give of their utmost in devotion and intelligence.

VII

JEWISH SURVIVAL IN THE DEMOCRACY OF THE FUTURE

For as the seed of peace, the vine shall give her fruit, and the ground shall give her increase, and the heavens shall give their dew; and I will cause the remnant of this people to inherit all these things.

—Zechariah, VII, 12.

THE enemy who began his onslaught on civilization by a war on the Jews stands within a crumbling fortress. His final submission is inevitable, but the price the world will have had to pay can not yet be reckoned. For that colossal price the peoples of the world, whose resources and blood have forged the weapons and deeds of victory, will ask for more than military triumph alone. They will demand guarantees that the citadel of peace has been securely and permanently won.

Moral values, translated into national and international action, will offer the most effective instrument for the establishment of a durable peace. They have already resulted in surprising alignments in the course of the war, during which differences in governmental structure and economic systems have been properly relegated to a subordinate place. In the formulation of those moral values that have sustained western civilization, the Jews have had a considerable voice. Traditionally they have been devoted to the maintenance of peace based on justice. While they have patriotically served every country in which they have lived when that country was at war, the Jews are lovers of peace, wholehearted participants in every effort to devise methods of international cooperation. Moreover, they are

acknowledged forerunners in intellectual endeavors, which transcend all geographical boundaries.

Political and economic insecurity, which transformed the interval between the two World Wars into a period of disguised or "creeping" war, inflated anti-Semitic propaganda into an instrument of power politics. By exploiting the dissensions among their own people, and the shortsighted ambitions for power of certain groups within other countries, large and small, the Nazis were able to convert the Jews into the main target of resentments. As early as 1920, when the National Socialist Party was organized and immediately began a policy toward the Jews that was nothing less than a declaration of war, the Jews were singled out in the first phase of this global "war of survival" for all peoples. No time of surcease was given to them; the new war, for them, started less than a year after the formal termination of the old war. And the pogroms that were the reverberations of the old war were still harassing them in the regions of Eastern Europe. And when, in 1933, the policy of the National Socialist Party became the official policy of the powerful and strategically situated German State, the new war struck first at the German Jews, and later almost the whole of European Jewry, plunging them into suffering, horror, and death.

It would be comforting to think that enlightened public opinion everywhere now recognizes Hitler's world-wide attack against the Jews as a prelude to his war against democracy and civilization. The identification of anti-Semitism as the handmaiden of reaction and fascism has not yet become an axiom of public thought in the democracies; on the contrary, there are indications that democratic thinking has not remained unaffected by Nazi attitudes. Many serious observers have insisted that the failure of the western democracies and the U.S.S.R. to take effective action to stop Hitler's anti-Jewish campaign was the first step in a policy of non-intervention, which finally became full-fledged appeasement. For all those years of humiliating concessions and surrenders the Jewish people were left without allies. Even today, the little attention accorded the decimation of the Jews in Poland and the heroic resistance of the Jews in the Warsaw ghetto, the unsatisfactory situation that persists in Palestine, and the closed doors that confront refugees elsewhere, show that there is still no adequate appraisal of the catastrophe that has befallen the Jews.

Nor has the status of Jews within any given country come to be

recognized as an infallible criterion of that country's democratic structure and its genuine striving for a democratic peace. In its local manifestations, anti-Semitism can be utilized to undermine post-war democracy and to restore reactionary governments; in its broader application, it can be the first entering wedge for international wars. Without the elimination of anti-Semitism, there can be no enduring democracy, no durable international peace.

DEMOCRACY AS A FRAMEWORK OF SURVIVAL

Once global democracy is achieved, a framework will have been set up for the consideration and remedy of the special conditions of Jewish life. Post-war problems such as relief, rehabilitation on the spot, and migration to new countries can be approached with some degree of confidence only within a democratic international framework. Assuming the existence of this democratic framework, with resultant equal rights, favorable prospects for reconstruction, and the equitable treatment of Palestine, what are some of the specific problems of the future?

Equal rights, though implicit in democracy, may nevertheless require specific legal and constitutional guarantees of international scope, protecting the inalienable rights of the human individual everywhere for the benefit of all. Systematic rehabilitation of the large mass of economically ruined Jews will depend on the functioning of international economic collaboration. And recognition of the need for an economic redistribution of the Jewish masses will involve large-scale migrations. For these migrations, the easing of immigration restrictions, the humanization of methods and regulations, and the formation of an international agency to grapple with the many-sided problems of migrants in the post-war era are imperative. The problem of Palestine is important, not only because of the promise it holds for helping to solve the difficulties arising out of the flux of refugees, but also because such a large portion of Jews throughout the world have a religious, cultural, and sentimental attachment toward Palestine.

It must be taken for granted that the Jews of the United States, constituting the largest and most prosperous free Jewish community in the world, will be fully aware of their responsibility to the Jews in other countries, whether those other Jews are only temporary residents or integrated parts of the local population. But material

and financial relief for the rehabilitation of the Jewish masses will be only one responsibility resting with the Jews of the United States after the war. Equally important, at least, will be the effective presentation of Jewish post-war needs to those who draft the peace; and even before that, interpretation of those needs to every fair-minded Jew and non-Jew, so that public opinion may realize their urgency.

To examine the characteristics of the Jewish situation today, one must consider first the changes that have occurred in Jewish life—the losses and altered distribution of population; the decline in the centers of traditional Jewish existence; and the condition of those communal ties on which the possibility of survival will depend: religion, culture and education, philanthropy, Palestine, and the consciousness of a common fate.

ASPECTS OF SURVIVAL

The war waged against the Jewish people under Nazi leadership will, in addition to its absolute effect on the size of the Jewish population, leave the survivors with an experience of brutal tragedy. Tragedy serves perhaps to strengthen the roots of the Jewish people's ability to survive all hardships, and to stand ultimately over the graves of their oppressors. But though the losses of our time may be viewed in the light of this peculiar ability, they must not therefore be minimized.

Though it is too early to evaluate them accurately, those losses are enormous. Figures mentioned in reports from Europe concerning the continuous liquidation of Jews under Nazi rule cannot be accepted as final. If we agree to the horrible, and—in the opinion of some—still optimistic estimate that by the end of the war around four million Jews will have been exterminated in Europe, the world Jewish population—estimated to have been 16,717,000 in 1938—will have been reduced by about 24%, a far greater percentage of loss than that suffered so far by any other group in the anti-Axis front.

The distribution of the surviving Jewish population will also present a drastically changed picture. Until its partition in 1939, Poland had the largest Jewish community in Europe, numbering 3,351,000. Of these, some 2,042,000 Jews in the western and central provinces fell to the Nazis by incorporation within the Reich or in the Nazi Government-General. The rest (about 1,309,000) came

under the jurisdiction of the U.S.S.R., which annexed the eastern regions.

Augmented by the influx of Jewish refugees from Nazi-occupied Poland, and later by the addition of Jews from Lithuania (200,000), Latvia (100,000), Bessarabia (200,000) and Bukovina (100,000), the total of Jews under Soviet rule after 1939 was brought to 4,700,000. This number was reduced with the outbreak of the Soviet-German war in 1941 and the subsequent Nazi occupation of the Baltic countries, Eastern Poland, White Russia, the Ukraine, Bessarabia, and Northern Bukovina. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that at the end of the war the Jews in the Soviet Union are likely to constitute the largest Jewish community on the European continent.

A large-scale decimation of Jews took place when the Nazis occupied Hungary in March, 1944, for of the estimated 800,000 souls comprising the Hungarian Jewish community, 400,000 have been deported to Poland. Before the Munich Pact, the number of Jews in Hungary was about 450,000, but the incorporation of Ruthenia added 90,000; Southern Slovakia, 75,000; Rumanian territories, 160,000, and Yugoslav territories, 20,000. Rumania, where there were approximately 850,000 Jews in 1939, lost—in addition to the 160,000 to Hungary—about 5,000 to Bulgaria. Of the Rumanian Jews who did not succeed in escaping deep into Russian territory before the Nazis occupation of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina, many were deported to Transnistria, since reoccupied by Soviet Russia. Deaths have been numerous and some 270,000 Jews are assumed to be living in Rumania at present (February 1945).

In Yugoslavia and Denmark, the Jewish communities have been almost eradicated; in France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Norway, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Greece, and Italy, there have been drastic depletions. The Jewish community of Germany, fast approaching disappearance, stands little chance of being restored to any semblance of its pre-Hitler situation in the immediate post-war period. As for the Sephardic groups, only those in the countries of the Mediterranean littoral that have escaped Nazi domination remain comparatively unharmed.

At best there will be about 2,000,000 Jews in Europe outside the U.S.S.R. at the end of the war, instead of the 6,000,000 previously there. Two million more will be distributed among Palestine, Latin America, Africa, Asia, and Australia. If the 1939 White Paper policy for Palestine is abandoned and the immigration restrictions in other

countries relaxed, the European Jewish population will undergo an additional decrease through emigration. It seems a foregone conclusion, therefore, that at the end of the war the majority of Jews will be living in the United States and the U.S.S.R.

Certain questions may be raised: Granted that the Jews have suffered a sharp numerical decline as a result of the war, have not other peoples undergone the same experience? Why should any group accept this numerical decline as static and permanent? Cannot Jews regain their former numerical strength as a result of improved post-war conditions?

Such questions can only be partially answered on the basis of known facts gathered from population studies. The great rise in Jewish population from about 2,500,000 in 1800 to 16,700,000 in 1938 is traceable mainly to the fecundity of the East European communities, who provided the overwhelming majority of immigrants. One of the assumptions that must be accepted in a post-war democratic world is that fairly rapid westernization—with its multiple facets—will influence the Jewish communities in Eastern Europe. Westernization has hitherto brought about a definite drop in the birthrate; and in the western countries Jews, as the most urbanized group, have had the lowest birthrate.

In Italy (1925–1930) the birthrate was 13.0 per thousand among Jews and 24.7 among the general population; in Hungary in 1935 it was 10.5 among Jews and 22.4 among non-Jews. The Jewish populations in Hungary and Italy, despite a lower death-rate than was found among the rest of the population, still showed a natural decrease, or an excess of deaths over births. On the basis of available data, it would seem that in the United States, the Jews have a very low rate of increase. For every 10 Jewish families in New Orleans and Buffalo (for which statistics are available), the number of children was only 14 and 24 respectively, in 1938. Thus it would seem that the Jewish population in the United States is facing actual decline within a decade or two.

Even in the less widely westernized communities of Eastern Europe, the same trends were evident. In Poland, the birthrate among Jews was 19.3 per thousand in 1936, in comparison with 28.1 among non-Jews; in Rumania it was 14.8 in 1934, compared with 34.8 among non-Jews.

A downward population trend was also found among the Jews of Palestine, where the Jewish birthrate declined from 35.1 per

thousand in the period between 1922 and 1926 to 20.1 per thousand in 1941. Although the Arab birthrate in the country also showed a decline in the same period—from 51.2 to 49.3 per thousand—the drop was very slight and the birthrate remained very high. Significantly, among the Jews the general average was brought down by the European immigrants to Palestine, who had on the average but one child in every family, while the Arab family averaged four.

Will all these countries in the post-war period maintain a constant increase in the birthrate, affecting the Jews as well as other sections of the population? This will depend on the general sense of security and the success of government efforts to encourage larger families. In Great Britain and the United States, as well as in France, the declining birthrate was viewed as a peril to national existence, especially in the event of war. The encouragement of larger families by providing better housing, social security, graded tax reductions and exemptions can be foreseen as a government program in many lands. Even direct subsidies for marriages and births, hitherto characteristic of Fascist philosophy, may be adopted by the democratic nations for the purposes of peace. While one cannot appraise the long-range effects of such measures on the Jews, it must not be overlooked that the natural decrease in their birthrate was more rapid than that of their pre-war neighbors in every country; and the post-war period will find them shaken with suffering and confronted with a period of extremely complicated adjustment.

The most violent decimations and dislocations of Jewish communities have occurred in Eastern Europe, in the very region that provided a powerful source of traditional Jewish life. The Jewish communities of Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, Ruthenia, Slovakia, and Rumania contributed population strength and much religious and cultural vitality. They not only offered the riches of their own continuous creativeness, they also helped build the large-scale immigration centers in the western parts of Europe and on other continents, where new variations of Jewish life were developed.

The redistribution of the Jewish population, which is inevitable after the war, will bring about a change in the linguistic habits of the Jewish communities. The largest proportion of Jews, more than 6,000,000, will reside in countries where English is either widely or universally spoken: 4,700,000 in the United States; 535,000 in Palestine; 370,000 in Great Britain; 175,000 in Canada; 100,000 in South Africa; and about 30,000 in Australia and New Zealand. The second

largest group of Jews will be living in regions where Russian is the dominant language. German, until 1933 the second cultural language of the Jews in Central Europe and of the westernized Jews in the East, will lose in importance.

Such a change in linguistic background will signify a transfer of populations to different environments. In Russia, government policy has hitherto impeded the maintenance of Jewish tradition. In the other countries westernization has brought about the abandonment of Yiddish, the diminishing use of Hebrew in prayer, the weakening of religious observance, a drop in community adherence, sometimes through an increase in intermarriage and conversion, and the dilution of Jewish education—all of them the blood and bone of Jewish survival in previous crises.

Although the Jewish communities of Eastern Europe have for almost a century benefited by gradual or partial emancipation and westernization, especially after the First World War, the process was not rapid enough to eliminate the traditional way of life. Other external factors collaborated in keeping Jewish religious and cultural life within clearly defined channels: multi-national situations, in which cultural diversities were at home; anti-Jewish feelings on the part of the majority populations, with the usual isolating and cohesive effect on the Jewish community itself; and above all, the great concentration of Jewish life, which inspired the Jews in the East European communities to forms of cultural expansion different from those manifested in the West. Yiddish and Hebrew were not rejected as media of speech and literature; Yiddish belles-lettres were first developed, then modernized, and Hebrew literature was so revitalized that the Yishuv in Palestine was better able to bring about a full-flowering renaissance. Jewish national sentiment was further fostered in the Eastern European communities by the spread of Zionism. Even a cosmopolitan movement like Socialism took on, among the East European Jews, characteristics peculiar to the background and environment, since the majority of Jewish workers belonged to unions and party groups that were entirely Jewish.

Between the religious and the secular there was a steady interplay of influences; and even when the secular seemed to stand alone, it still derived its primary strength from the religious communities, which were entrusted by the State with the administration of Jewish religious affairs and the supervision of cultural and philanthropic

institutions. Most of the members of these communities accepted, as a matter of course, the principle that they were a separate group; they insisted on national minority rights, state-supported schools teaching in Yiddish or Hebrew, and extensive communal autonomy.

This communal-cultural structure has been shattered by the impact of the Second World War. But again, it is impossible to ignore the more gradual weakening that emancipation and westernization had previously introduced. Although most of the Jews in East European countries spoke the Yiddish language, the tendency to abandon Yiddish in favor of the dominant or majority language was growing. Available figures show that the percentage of Yiddish-speaking Jews (in 1930) was 78.0 in Latvia, 68.0 in Rumania and only 53.1 in Slovakia. In the U.S.S.R. only 72.6% declared Yiddish as their spoken language in 1926; in the great Russian Republic of the U.S.S.R., the percentage was only 50.3. While 60.6% of the Jews of the world spoke Yiddish in 1905, the figure dropped to 40.7% in 1938. Its continued decline—with the East European centers broken up—is almost inevitable; its literature, the record of a century of dispersed but closely knit Jewish existence, will have fewer writers and readers.

Even the Hebrew language, despite its rootedness and virtual rebirth in Palestine, will probably suffer adversely from the change in the East European communities. Primarily it was a bond because it was a sacred tongue. But with the westernization of religious ritual, which originally involved the increased use of the dominant local language in services, this ancient linguistic bond became tenuous. Recently, however, there has been a tendency among Reform religious groups to revert to increased use of Hebrew in services, as well as to other traditional forms of ritual. This trend may signify a movement toward a new religious unity, but it is at best only an initial trend.

An example of how rapidly changes in religious and cultural allegiance may be brought about is provided by the U.S.S.R. Here, within one generation, the Jewish community was transformed by altered social and economic circumstances and by official antagonism to religion and Jewish tradition from a group that was largely religious, Zionist, and Yiddish-speaking to an apparently non-religious and predominantly Russian-speaking one. It is doubtful whether the changing government policy in the U.S.S.R. toward religious observance will greatly affect the dejudaised younger generation;

and it will be necessary to face the fact that more than one-third of the Jews in the world are already lost to the Jewish community in the religious sense. And unless the Soviet government continues its newly adopted policy, whereby Soviet Jews may participate in world Jewish affairs, it is likely that the second largest Jewish center in the world will also be lost in the communal sense. If positive changes occur, the pattern of the Jewish community in the U.S.S.R. and the Western pattern will resemble each other in the use of local languages as well as in other respects.

Jewish survival as a concept must be large enough to include every interpretation of the role and function of the Jewish people in future history. If one could say that disappearance offered an alternative, that might be a candid, though distressing, conclusion. Such an alternative seems, however, to be historically barred. The Jews do survive, and under their numerous mutations have been guided by a magnificent and recognizable moral force. We must now examine, therefore, those ties that may provide a viable basis for survival.

Religion seems to be one aspect of the international morality that the war has brought to the fore. A widespread return to religious traditions by all groups has been predicted for the post-war era. Its form may be that of simple, ritualistic observance, or a devotion to basic and universal humanism, as expressed in various faiths. But if such a return to religious faith is to occur and carry the Jewish people with it, there will be for the Jews the added question of how their own faith and beliefs are to be sustained.

Their religion has hitherto been a bond, not only between specific local groups, but between communities separated by land and by water. The major common bond was the Orthodox faith, symbolized by the Hebrew prayer book, which was used by all Jews and understood by most because of the elaborate and world-wide system of Jewish education. Poland, in particular, was the leading center for the publication of traditional rabbinical literature, the output of which was larger than that of any other branch of Jewish letters. Lithuania was also a pivotal center of religious education. Slovakia, Ruthenia, and the Hungarian regions of Rumania were rich in Hassidic traditions, particularly before World War I.

With these centers weakened, the Jewish communities throughout the world, if they are to retain religious identity in an era of religious affirmation, will have to depend on fresh sources of unity.

The centralizing force of religious unity in Eastern Europe helped keep alive Hebrew education and other forms of Jewish literature. It created the background from which young men and women, keenly conscious of their tradition and ready to transplant it into new surroundings, went to western European and overseas settlements; it was the source out of which grew the Yishuv in Palestine, with its distinctive pattern of Jewish life.

Culture and education will unquestionably have to continue to serve as cohesive forces for a people whose ideals are universal morality and brotherhood. This culture will have to evolve from the traditions, experiences, and transformations that the Jewish people have brought with them to this point in their history.

Up to now philanthropy has also supplied an important tie between the various Jewish communities of the world. Its importance was considerably augmented after the outbreak of World War I, when philanthropic undertakings, as unprecedented in scope as was the tragedy that occasioned them, were in demand. Local philanthropies, too, coincident with the humanization of treatment for the underprivileged, demanded greater aid. The number of contributors to various Jewish philanthropic activities, especially in the western countries of emancipation, is assumed to be greater than the number of formal adherents to the synagogue. Jews of all shades of opinion—religious and non-religious, Zionist and non-Zionist, Yiddishist and Hebraist, progressive and reactionary, survivalist and assimilationist—have been united in their common desire to succor the less fortunate among them. While differences have again and again frustrated the attempt to establish a completely unified Jewish front in regard to political attitudes, a large measure of unity has been maintained in the handling of local philanthropies and overseas relief. Philanthropy, quite apart from the benefits it has offered to those who needed it and from its service as a means of identification with the Jewish community, has also been an instrument for Jewish education. Following the present war, Jewish solidarity will be further strengthened through overseas activities that are destined to play an important part, not only in the restoration of Jewish communities in the war-stricken areas, but also in emigration and resettlement.

Affiliated Jews everywhere—except for some minor groups and, heretofore, the Jewish community in the U.S.S.R.—have joined in building a Jewish center in the Holy Land. Motives and hopes dif-

ferred, visions varied in range and direction, but there was a unity of purpose and coordination of effort, with a resultant cohesiveness in the Jewish community. Some hold that the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine would eventually allow certain groups to make a dignified exit from Jewish life, on the ground that Jews outside the Holy Land would no longer have to be concerned with Jewish survival, already guaranteed in Palestine. Others contend that the cultural and religious influences emanating from the Holy Land will strengthen Jewish consciousness and the will to survive as a group, outside of Palestine. Both these antithetical attitudes will probably make themselves felt within the Jewish community. A middle point of view is that Jews everywhere are likely to remain vitally interested in Palestine, for the Jewish community there must be considered by the world an example and symbol of Jewish creativity; but that the cultural and religious interest in the Holy Land shown by Jews elsewhere will ultimately depend on the degree of their identification with Jewish life as a whole.

The community-of-fate concept has long been, and may continue to be, a cohesive factor of great importance. Anti-Semitism and historical tradition, the one negatively, the other positively, have combined to make the Jews feel that they belong to one community, though this in no way affects their citizenship, their civic and national fidelities, and their relationship to their non-Jewish neighbors. Recent anti-Semitism has so strengthened this community-of-fate feeling, and Nazi racism so intensified it that even some Christians of Jewish origin accept their lot as members of the Jewish community. These "racial" Jews share in the hardships imposed on other Jews. But anti-Semitism has not inspired world-wide unity or even coordination in the defense activities with which the Jews have sought to combat it. Each community has apparently waged a separate struggle. Soviet Jews, hitherto arbitrarily separated from their sister Jewish communities and trained to view any manifestation of common interest as "clerical," "counter-revolutionary," and "reactionary," are now being permitted to assert some degree of community-of-fate sentiment with other Jewish communities. The number of Jews sharing a sense of common destiny may be said to have expanded in the last decade, but the expansion has been caused by external hostile attitudes. History, unfortunately, does not indicate that these hostile attitudes are transitory. Theoretically, in the world democracy that the post-war era is expected to engender, anti-

Semitism will be an anomaly. But the process of eradicating prejudices, which have been brought to the surface by years of propaganda, will probably be slow.

It is historical tradition that offers the greatest hope for survival. It is here that the dynamism of survival must originate. Jewish historical tradition goes back to the birth of civilization when chronicles were shrouded in myth. From the ancient origins of Jewish historical tradition came the first summons to monotheism and moral rectitude, summons that were subsequently to serve as spiritual guides for the whole Western world. And superimposed on these beginnings were centuries of unparalleled human experience for the Jews, sometimes, as today, incredibly bitter, but always transformed into spiritual probings and soaring intellectual flights, which selflessly served humanity.

Such historical tradition can only quicken pride in those who are aware of it. For the creation of such awareness, we must once again turn to education and culture. Self-awareness, education in the heritage of historical fact and accomplishment, and familiarity with the culture that is intrinsically Jewish and has lived in so many languages and so many lands—these are the deeper sources of survival.

TOWARD A NEW WORLD

The requisites of survival are therefore twofold: first of all, a democratic structure of society must be assured; and second, there must be, within the Jewish communities themselves, the will to survive through the sustaining power of Jewishness.

A democratic framework must not be thought of in negative terms. Too often it has been identified with the absence of persecution and the absence of anti-Semitism. It should rather be considered as the creator and sponsor of positive abilities and privileges. Equality may be expressed in proper legislation and an enforcement apparatus; but equality presupposes first of all a dwelling-together in which the separate constituents of an equalitarian society may thrive. Tolerance means protection against group hatreds, but it also means the co-existence of cultural, religious, and racial groups, living side by side in mutual esteem and for mutual benefit.

Democracy, therefore, bespeaks the free functioning of differing segments of the world's culture, and the encouragement to all groups to develop their own values. It connotes diversity, as opposed to

totalitarianism, which connotes uniformity. To Jews as well as to others, it means that assimilation of new trends may take place, even assimilation of local languages and customs, without the rejection of prior heritage. On the contrary, only when the genius of the locale is combined with the tradition of the past can the cultural fertility that animates progress be preserved.

The strength of the United States lies in just such an integration, differing, as can now be seen, from the "melting pot" theories, which were once applied to the country. When the heritages of other lands flowed into the New World in broad, rich, and exuberant stream, fusion and a consequent loss of identity seemed to lie ahead. But as the process of adaptation grew more discernible, it became clear that an utter loss of identity was neither necessary nor desirable. If the existing milieu is to fulfil its rich cultural promises, the people should remain cognizant of their origins; they must be ready to draw on and exult in their cultural sources. Only in this way can they contribute to the sturdy and healthy state of mind that is identified with Americanism at its finest.

In international life, the United Nations, by their very act of uniting, have proved the desirability of such diversity. No signatory to the United Nations coalition has any wish to forfeit the riches of its own history. Every country, however, realizes that from now on, if its historical riches are to be perpetuated and its sovereignty, in the highest sense, maintained, it must remain ever cognizant of the united world in which it lives. That united world must also remain considerate of every individual value within its own many-sided structure.

To the wealth of values that will go into making a democratic world the Jews bring their own great inheritance. The moral foundation on which the hopes of future democracy are built is the amplification of precepts that were Jewish before they were acknowledged and adopted by an entire civilization. So profound has been the identification of these moral values with Jewish tradition that long before Hitler tyrannies have recognized the Jews as their first enemies. Love of liberty, devotion to freedom, fairness to all mankind—these are the ideals the Jewish people have carried with them. And in the defense of these ideals, the Jewish people have amassed a fund of experience in suffering that makes them today, more than ever before, resolute adherents of the democratic world that is being born. Peace, to Jews, means more than the absence of

hostilities; it means removing the causes of war and joining men together in a fraternity of human relationships.

Not only as recipients of the benefits of peace, but as contributors to a lasting peace, the Jews today contemplate their survival. History has been resourceful for so long; why should it turn sterile now? If their survival in the past has sometimes seemed mystical, it may seem so again.

As precursors of its ideals, the Jews stand ready to enter the new world. For wherever they are able to live and create to the fullest of their abilities, civilization flourishes and peace prevails.

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